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The
American Historical Review

A CASE OF WITCHCRAFT

THE accessible materials for a history of Elizabethan witchcraft are scattered and fragmentary. Much is lost, and much remains inedited. Yet we cannot hope to understand the prosecutions of the last sixty years of the seventeenth century, whether in Old England or in New, until we arrive at a substantially accurate comprehension of what was thought and done at the close of the great queen's reign. It is not only the dogmas of the theologians, the tenets of the physicians, and the rules of the law that we need to know, but, above everything else, the beliefs and feelings of the populace—of the folk itself. For it is in this matter of witchcraft, if anywhere, that public opinion is supreme. The populace may, perhaps, be restrained by the more enlightened part of the community, but the so-called governing classes cannot prosecute with success if the populace does not approve. Witch-hunting never flourishes unless the common people are eager for it. It is to them that the officers of the law must look for testimony, and it is the jury of the vicinage that renders the verdict. Experience has taught, over and over again, how hard it is for the most skeptical judge to bring about an acquittal in a particular case when the neighborhood from which the jury comes is convinced of the reality of the crime in general.

There was a famous witch-trial at Exeter, England, in 1682. Roger North was present, and here is his account of the state of public opinion:

The women were very old, decrepit, and impotent, and were brought to the assizes with as much noise and fury of the rabble against them as could be shewed on any occasion. The stories of their arts were in everyone's mouth, and they were not content to belie them in the country, but even in the city where they were to be tried miracles were fathered upon them, as that the judge's coach was fixed upon the castle bridge, and the like. All which the country believed, and accordingly

persecuted the wretched old creatures. A less zeal in a city or kingdom hath been the overture of defection or revolution, and if these women had been acquitted, it was thought that the country people would have committed some disorder.¹

This was a case in which it seems clear that the judges would have preferred a verdict of "not guilty" if they had been left to themselves.

Another striking example is that of Jane Wenham, who was condemned to death for witchcraft in 1712. Her trial is notable for its recent date. By that time there was much incredulity on the subject in the minds of educated men. Chief Justice Powell, who presided, made open fun of the evidence and summed up strongly in the defendant's favor, but in vain. He was obliged to sentence the woman to death and to content himself with procuring her pardon from the crown. Nor was it until 1736 that the English and Scottish statutes against witchcraft were repealed. In considering the tenacity of the popular belief on this subject, we should never forget that the essence of witchcraft is *maleficium*. The hatred and terror which a witch evokes is due to her will and her power to inflict bodily injury. Compacts with the devil, the suckling of imps, the violation of graves, the abominations of the Witches' Sabbath—these are mere incidentals, the paraphernalia of the art. They aggravate the offense, to be sure, and proof that a woman is implicated in such horrors may send her to the scaffold or the stake. But, in the last analysis, every witch is prosecuted, not because she amuses herself with riding a broomstick or because she has taken a fiend for a lover: she is hunted down like a wolf because she is an enemy to mankind. Her heart is full of malignity. For a harsh word, or the refusal of a bit of bread, she becomes your mortal foe. And her revenge is out of all proportion to the affront, for she is in league with spirits of evil who are almost infinite in strength. She sends blight upon your crops, the rot upon your sheep, the murrain on your cattle; your house takes fire; your ship is cast away. She visits you and your family with strange wasting diseases—with palsy, with consumption, with raging fever, with madness, with death. Witch-trials are not prompted by theological hair-splitting, by systems of devil-lore, by the text, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live". *These all come after the fact*. It is self-protection that incites the accuser. His cause is fear—and fear of bodily harm. The witch is a murderer, or may become a murderer on the slightest provocation. Her life cannot be spared, for there is no safety until she is sent out of the world.

¹ *Autobiography* (Jessopp, 1887), ch. X., pp. 131-132; cf. American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings*, new series, XVIII. 191 ff.

Now the mere creed—the belief that witches exist and that they can work supernaturally to the injury and even to the destruction of their enemies—is the heritage of the human race. The Englishman of the sixteenth or seventeenth century did not excogitate or dream it for himself, or borrow it from the Continent, or learn it from his spiritual advisers whether before the Reformation or after. He inherited it in an unbroken line from his primeval ancestors. And along with it came another dogma, likewise of abysmal antiquity—the theory that all diseases are of supernatural origin. This dogma had, to be sure, been somewhat limited in scope as the shaman developed into the physician, but it was still extant and still vigorous. Every malady that baffled the doctors was ascribed to witchcraft, often by the doctors themselves; and all sudden or virulent or wasting maladies lay under suspicion. These things are truisms, but they are continually lost sight of by the investigators of English witchcraft. There is a constant assumption that such beliefs are abnormal, a persistent tendency to ignore the fact that it was rather a mark of exceptional enlightenment to look to natural causes in popular diagnosis than a mark of positive credulity or superstition to look to supernatural causes. In brief, the ordinary Elizabethan, in this essential particular—the doctrine of *maleficium* and its application to disease—had not yet emerged from barbarism. And it was the doctrine of *maleficium*, and nothing else, that made the witch-creed terrible.

After a witch had been arrested, it is true, she often fell into the hands of the learned who asked her questions based on an elaborate system of demonology, and, when so interrogated, she often confessed strange things, which the industry of scholars may trace to foreign creeds or imported philosophies. Some of this erudite material, through the pulpit or otherwise, did certainly attach itself to the native and popular beliefs. And thus we may easily be led to fancy that judges, philosophers, divines—and even King James I.—were to blame for the prevalence of English witchcraft in the seventeenth century. But such elaborations were merely incidental. They came into a particular case, if at all, only when the witch had once been cried out upon. Somebody falls sick, and the doctors cannot cure him; a child has hysterical fits and is grievously tormented. There are aged women in the village at whom we have long looked askance. They are foul-mouthed, perhaps, and prone to curse when we offend them; or they have laid claim to occult power, and have traded on the terror they inspire. They may even imagine themselves to hold intercourse with Satan, for they share

the current superstitions and are not very strong in their wits. One of these beldames is mentioned as the bewitcher, perhaps because the patient's distempered fancy has seen a face and called a name. Then old rumors are revived: Smith's cattle died year before last, or Jones's little son. For there is ever at hand a huge mass of such latent evidence, all connected with the primitive doctrine of *maleficium*, and only waiting for a prosecution to bring it before the courts. When the trial begins, we may hear of compacts with Satan, of flights through the air, of sordid and hideous revels at the Witches' Sabbath. But such things are mere confirmatory details. The essential point, the really efficient impulse, is always *maleficium*—injury to goods or body or life through supernatural means.

For England, the worst period of witch-prosecution is, by common consent, the seventeenth century—the century of the Lancashire witches, of Matthew Hopkins and John Stearne, of Glanvill's *Saducismus Triumphatus*. The reign of James, we remember, covers exactly twenty-two years, from March, 1603, to March, 1625. In 1604 Parliament enacted a famous statute against witchcraft, usually called the statute of James I. The idea has been prevalent that the delusion was dying out at the close of Elizabeth's reign, and that the advent of the British Solomon gave it fresh vigor.²

My purpose is to report an extremely interesting case of alleged witchcraft which occurred in Devonshire in 1601 and 1602, just before James came to the throne. This alone would make it significant enough. But it is still further noteworthy because it exhibits the phenomena in what we may call a pure form. We have only the testimony of voluntary, and for the most part aggrieved, witnesses. There are no arguments, no confessions, no comments from the bench. There is nothing but the beliefs and experiences of the witnesses themselves, honestly detailed according to their lights. Hence the documents afford us a perfect picture of the witchcraft creed as held by the common people. And we find, as we should expect, that the sum and substance of it all was *maleficium*—injury to the property and the health of the victims, amounting even to ruin and death.

The documents have never been printed.³ They consist of eleven "examinations",⁴ taken before a Devon justice of the peace,

² For arguments against this idea see *Studies in the History of Religions presented to Crawford Howell Toy* (1912), pp. 1-65; cf. *American Historical Review*, XX. 570 (1915).

³ I have mentioned the case in the *Studies in the History of Religions*, p. 17. Apart from this mention it seems to have eluded investigators of the subject.

⁴ One of these includes the testimony of a man and his wife, so that we really have twelve witnesses.

Sir Thomas Ridgeway, in 1601 and 1602. The manuscript was acquired by the Harvard College Library, in loose sheets, in 1905.⁵ The papers are the original records, each examination being written out by a clerk and signed by the magistrate. Most of them are in duplicate, both copies bearing Ridgeway's signature, and one is in triplicate. Such examinations were regularly taken to perpetuate testimony, and were offered as evidence at the assizes. The method

⁵ It is now numbered 24241.5. The examinations are divided into sections, numbered by a clerk, and the sheets are now bound in the order thus indicated. The contents of the manuscript are as follows (no folio numbers in the original): Leaf 1a: Alyce Butler, October 2, 1601 (§§ 1, 2). Leaf 1b: blank. Leaf 2a: Johan Baddaford, October 2, 1601 (§§ 3, 4, 5 begins). Leaf 2b: Johan Baddaford concluded (§ 5 ends); William Tompson (§ 6) and Elizabeth, his wife (§ 7), October 2, 1601. Leaf 3a: Christian Webbar, October 2, 1601 (§§ 8, 9); Christofer Honywell, October 2, 1601 (§ 10). Leaf 3b: blank. Leaf 4a: Johan Davye, January 20, 1601 (*i. e.*, 1602) (§ 10 [*bis*]). Leaf 4b: blank. Leaf 5a: William Cozen, October 2, 1601 (§§ 11, 12); Suzan Tooker, October, 1601 (§§ 13, 14, 15 begins). Leaf 5b: Suzan Tooker concluded (§ 15 ends, § 16). Leaf 6a: Johan Laishe, October 2, 1601 (§ 17). Leaf 6b: blank. (The lower half of leaf 6 has been torn off and is lost. It must have contained another examination (§ 18). Johan Laishe's examination is complete.) Leaf 7a: John Denman, before Ridgeway, March 13, 1601 (*i. e.*, 1602) (§ 19). Leaf 7b: blank. Leaf 8a: John Denman, before Ridgeway, March 13, 43 Elizabeth (*i. e.*, 1602) (§ 20), duplicate of § 19. Leaf 8b: blank. Leaf 9a: John Galsworthie, April 8, 1602 (§ 33). Leaf 9b: blank. Leaf 10a: Alice Buttler, October 2, 1601 (§ 36), duplicate of §§ 1, 2. Leaf 10b: blank. Leaf 11a: Johan Baddaford, October 2, 1601 (§ 37), duplicate of §§ 3-5. Leaf 11b: blank. Leaf 12a: William Thompson and Elizabeth, his wife, October 2, 1601 (§§ 38, 39), duplicate of §§ 6, 7. Leaf 12b: blank. Leaf 13a: Christian Webbar, October 2, 1601 (§ 41), duplicate of §§ 8, 9. Leaf 13b: blank. Leaf 14a: Johan Davye, October 2, 1601 (§ 45), duplicate of § 10 [*bis*]. Leaf 14b: blank. Leaf 15a: John Denman, before Henry Hayward, October 2, 1601 (see below) (§ 46), duplicate of § 19 and § 20; Suzan Turke, October 2, 1601 (§ 47), duplicate of §§ 13-16 (there called Suzan Tooker). Leaf 15b: blank. Leaf 16a: Christofer Honywell, October 2, 1601 (§ 48), duplicate of § 10.

Thus it appears that there are duplicates of all the examinations but three (William Cozen, Johan Laishe, and John Galsworthie), and that John Denman's testimony appears thrice. Denman appears to have been first examined before Henry Hayward, mayor of Dartmouth. This examination is found on leaf 15a (§ 46). It is headed "*Thexaminacon of John Denman of Kingsweare taken before Sr. Thomas Ridgwaie Knight the second daye of October, 1601. et Ao R Rne Eliz etc. xliijmo.*" But the words here italicized are crossed out, and another hand has interlined "*Henry Heyward Mayor of Dartmth.*" Since "*the second*" is included in the cancellation, the date is left doubtful. Ridgeway does not sign § 46, though his signature is appended to § 47 (Suzan Turke's examination), which follows on the same page. Denman was re-examined, this time before Ridgeway, on March 13, 1601 (*i. e.*, 1602), and of this examination we have two copies, both signed by Ridgeway, one on leaf 7a (§ 19), the other on leaf 8a (§ 20). There are slight variations among the three copies, and this is true of the duplicates in the case of the other witnesses.

The examinations are in two clerkly hands. One clerk wrote § 20 (Den-

may be conveniently seen in Thomas Potts's account of the Lancashire witch-trials of 1612, at which he acted as clerk of the court.⁶ Thus our Devon record contains a considerable body of material of unquestionable authenticity.

Sir Thomas Ridgeway was a man of first-rate intelligence, and is remembered as one of the Planters of Ulster. He was born about 1565. In 1600, shortly before the date of our examinations, he was appointed high sheriff of Devon and received the honor of knighthood. In 1616 he was raised to the Irish peerage by the title of Lord Ridgeway, and in 1623 he became Earl of Londonderry.

The scene of the trouble was Hardness, a village close to Dartmouth. Here lived Michael Trevisard, a fisherman, with his wife Alice and his son Peter. All were defamed for witchcraft, and suspicion against Michael and Alice was of long standing. The witnesses against them were persons of their own humble condition, belonging in Hardness or the vicinity. There is no trace of influence from the clergy or the gentry. It was the villagers themselves who appealed to the magistrate for protection. One witness speaks of a number of them as going to Tunstall, to the house of Sir Thomas Ridgeway, to make a complaint, and as meeting Alice Trevisard on the way back. Whether the accused persons were ever brought to trial we do not know, but it is clear that Ridgeway had these documents prepared for eventual use at the assizes.

The whole essential body of the witchcraft doctrine occurs, in a highly condensed form, in the examination of Alice Butler, of Hardness. This is in two parts, and may be quoted in full. The duplicate shows a number of variant readings, some of which I have inserted in brackets. I have modernized the spelling and regulated punctuation and capitals, and so elsewhere.

Devon Th' examination of Alice Butler of Hardness, in the County aforesaid, widow, taken before Sir Thomas Ridgway, Knight, the second of October, 1601.

1. This examine saith that she, sitting at a door or bench in man's examination, March 13, 1602) and § 33 (Galsworthie's examination, April 8, 1602). Another clerk wrote all the other examinations. All are dated October 2, 1601, except § 10 [*bis*] (Johan Davye, January 20, 1601 [*i. e.*, 1602]), and the two just noted (§§ 20, 33, Denman and Galsworthie). Johan Davy's duplicate (§ 45) is dated October 2, 1601, though the other copy (§ 10 [*bis*]) bears date January 20, 1601 [1602].

That several examinations are lost is shown by the torn leaf (6), on the lower half of which must have stood § 18 (missing in the numbering), and also by the fact that there are no §§ 21-32, 34-35, 40, 42-44. Some of these missing sections, however, undoubtedly contained duplicates.

⁶ *The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster* (London, 1613).

Hardness aforesaid about Christide last was twelvemonth with one Michael Trevisard of Hardness aforesaid, used these words: "I would my child were able to run as well as any of these children that run here in the street!" Then said Trevisard, "It shall never run!" "No? That's hard!" says this examine again. "No, it shall never run", answered Trevisard, "till thou hast another," repeating the same words a dozen several times at the least with great vehemency. Whereupon this examine, being much troubled in mind, especially upon a fear conceived by her before through the general bad report that went of him, departed from him. And the very same week the same child sickened, and consumed away, being well one day and ill another, for the space of seventeen weeks or thereabout, and then died.

2. This examine further saith, that Peter Trevisard, son of the said Michael Trevisard, came to this examine's house to borrow a hatchet, which Alice Beere, servant to this examine, denied, to whom the said Michael answered [*var.* and he answered], "Shall I not have it? I will do thee a good turn ere twelvemonth be at an end." And shortly the said Alice Beere sickened, continuing one day well and another day ill, for the space of eleven weeks, and then died. In which case both the husband of this examine and a [*var.* another] child of theirs fell sick, and so continued seventeen or eighteen weeks, and then died.

TH: RIDGWAY.

The regular fashion of commenting on such utterances as these is to cry out against the malicious folly of the accuser and to lament the hard lot of the accused. May I be permitted, for once, to abandon custom, and to express my sympathy with poor Alice Butler, who had lost her husband and two of her children by some strange wasting sickness, for which she had no name, and who could only revert to the primeval tenets of savage man in her attempt to explain so dreadful a visitation? Few utterances in any records are more artlessly pathetic.

To the student of English witchcraft the document is very valuable on account of the purity and simplicity of type which it exemplifies. *Maleficium* is the gist of the whole matter, and the process described is perfectly accordant to rule. We have the *damnum minatum* and the *malum secutum*. That is all. There are no complications whatever. There is not a trace of those foreign and learned elements that are often thought to constitute the bulk of the English witchcraft doctrine after the Reformation. There is no Black Man, no book to sign, no compact with Satan. There are no infernal revels, no fiendish lovers. In short, there is nothing that is non-essential. Alice Butler's evidence is precisely the kind of testimony that might have been offered against a witch in any land and in any stage of civilization, from the Stone Age to day-before-yesterday. It would be quite pertinent at the trial of a

witch of Ashantee or Congo or the Australian bush. It exhibits the primitive and universal creed of the whole human race, preserved without the contamination of culture or education, and surviving every religious vicissitude, to the beginning of the seventeenth century, in one of the most enlightened countries in the world. Incidentally, it was quite enough to send Michael Trevisard to the scaffold if he came to trial and the jury believed Alice's story. Finally, nobody was to blame. The responsibility lay not upon the jurists or the theologians or the neighborhood: it was the burden of the human race as a whole.

An equally distressing case was that of Joan Baddaford. Alice Trevisard, it appears, had fallen out with John Baddaford, Joan's husband, and had "said unto him that he should go to Pursever Wood and gather up his wits". The precise meaning of this railing speech escapes me, but I fancy it was equivalent to calling John a scatter-brained fool. The phrase reminds one, though perhaps whimsically, of Pandar's contemptuous "Yea, hazelwood!" in Chaucer's *Troilus*.⁷ We may also adduce, tentatively, the common saying "Your wits are gone wool-gathering". It was manifestly possible, if the sequel should warrant, to interpret Alice's jeering words as a threat that John should lose his mind. The sequel did so warrant.

Within three weeks after [Joan alleged], the said John Baddaford made a voyage to Rochelle, in the *Hope* of Dittsham, and returned home again out of his wits, and so continued by the space of two years, tearing and renting his clothes, in such sort as four or five men were hardly able to bind him and keep him in order.

In like manner, as we learn from Potts's *Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster*, John Bulcock and his mother Joan were indicted, in 1612,

for that they feloniously had practiced, exercised, and used their divelish and wicked arts, called witchcraft, enchantments, charms, and sorceries, in and upon the body of Jennet Deane, so as the body of the said Jennet Deane, by force of the said witchcrafts, wasted and consumed, and after she, the said Jennet, became mad.

But we must return to the testimony of Joan Baddaford.

On the occasion of the same quarrel, Joan averred, Alice Trevisard had "further threatened this examine that within seven years after she should not be worth a groat, nor have a house to dwell in, nor a coat to her back". And these threats came true, for "whereas she had at that time the fee simple of an house worth one hundred pounds, now is she worth nothing".

⁷ V. 505; cf. III. 890; V. 1174.

Let us bear in mind that the things to which poor Joan Baddaford bore witness must have been facts. Her insane husband and her fallen fortunes were neither delusions nor superstitions. We cannot ridicule or denounce; we can only pity. If Joan was a bad logician—if she reasoned *post hoc ergo propter hoc*—so do we, every day of our lives. And as to threats, they are still admissible as evidence against an accused murderer.

The next section of Joan's examination may seem trivial, but it was significant of inveterate malice on the part of the alleged witch, and thus was clearly pertinent. Some three years before the date of this document, Joan had asked a penny of Alice Trevisard "for washing of clothes". Alice paid the debt, but added that the penny should do Joan "little good". Joan spent the coin for drink, "and when the drink came, she had no power to drink thereof, but the same night fell sick, and continued so by the space of seven weeks following". This is an excellent instance of primeval magic. It is notoriously dangerous to receive anything from a witch, whether by way of gift or of payment. Joan's inability to drink is a typical symptom. We meet with it again in the Lancashire trials of 1612, as reported by Thomas Potts. One Peter Chaddock, in testifying against Isabel Robey, deposed that at one time he

was very sore pained, and so thirsty withal, and hot within his body, that he would have given anything he had to have slaked his thirst, having drink enough in the house, and yet could not drink until the time that . . . James the Glover came to him; and this examine then said before the said Glover, "I would to God that I could drink!" whereupon the said Glover said to this examine, "Take that drink, and in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, drink it,"—whereupon this examine then took the glass of drink, and did drink it all, and afterwards mended very well.

Joan Baddaford's experiences, or some of them, convinced her that Alice Trevisard was a witch. This, indeed, was the general opinion in those parts. At all events, Joan, with several of her neighbors, went to Sir Thomas Ridgeway's house at Tunstall to lay a complaint against her. On the way back, Alice met them. A dispute ensued, as was natural, and Alice said to Joan, "Thou or thine may be burned before long be!" The taunt, we may conjecture, was in answer to some such remark as that Alice deserved to be burnt for a witch. It is easy to imagine the scene. The sharp-tongued Alice, a common railer and brawler, baited by a group of villagers, all of whom believed that they had suffered at her hands, was determined to give as good as she got, regardless of the risk that anything she said might be used against her. The encounter

was on a Monday. From that day until the next Thursday Joan Baddaford made no fire in her house, whether from fear or from poverty we cannot tell. On Thursday, however, Joan began to build a fire. She laid a few coals in her chimney—brought from a neighbor's cottage, no doubt—and turned aside to break up some wood. Her child was sitting upon the hearth. Suddenly she heard the child scream, and saw that the band about his neck was burning. Looking into his neck, she found that the flesh was "burned to the bone". Yet the child had not fallen into the fire, but was "sitting on the hearth as before". Indeed, the fire was not kindled at all, but the coals lay there just as she had put them in. These facts Joan "presently shewed to divers of the chief of Dartmouth, and sought the best remedy she could, but found neither salve nor anything else that did it any good, but within three weeks after the child consumed and died". Here again is a grim fact—superstition or no superstition—the child perished miserably, and no one could understand his disease.

The examination of William Tompson, of Dartmouth, is uncommonly lively and picturesque. William was a sailor. Some six years before he and a comrade (one William Furseman, also of Dartmouth) had chanced to meet Alice Trevisard upon the Force in that town. It was about midnight. She was dressed in a "long grayish cape down to her foot", and wore a hood which covered almost all her face, "so that they took her for some Seminary priest". They asked her what she was doing in the street at that time of night. Probably the sailors were not quite sober. At any rate, they were uncivil, and if, as William alleged, they mistook Alice for a priest, we may be sure they were rough-handed. An altercation followed—but we will let Tompson tell his own story:

She fell out with them, and they were no sooner gone from her than this examinee fell, and was in great danger of breaking his neck. Whereat the said Alice laughing, this examinee said to her, "Dost thou laugh at a shrewd turn [*i. e.*, a bad accident]?" And then he struck her with a musket rod; whereupon she threatened this examinee, saying, "Thou shalt be better thou hadst never met with me!"

Vengeance was swift. Within three weeks after the *damnum minatum*, William Tompson went to sea. His ship caught fire—none knew how—and foundered. Out of twenty-five on board, only six were saved. As for William, he was picked up by a Portuguese vessel ("by a Portingalle") and carried to Spain, where he was imprisoned for a whole year. On his return Alice Trevisard said to Elizabeth Tompson, his wife, "Is he come home on life? He hath better luck than a good man! But it is no matter. He shall

be there again within this twelve months." And the prophecy was fulfilled. In less than half a year William was captured once more, this time by the Spaniards, and he was kept in confinement for twenty-five months. "Elizabeth Tompson", adds the record, "being examined upon these last speeches of her husband's oath, affirmeth them to be true."

William Tompson's sufferings inevitably bring us thoughts of a famous passage in *Macbeth*. The temptation to linger a moment over the comparison is not to be resisted. The witch in Shakspeare had been flouted by the wife of the master of the *Tiger*. The ship has reached Aleppo in safety.

But in a sieve I'll thither sail,
And, like a rat without a tail,
I'll do, I'll do, and I'll do!

The horrid vagueness of these menacing words has misled many. "She threatens", runs the usual note, "in the shape of a rat, to gnaw through the hull of the *Tiger* and make her spring a leak." So one might imagine, were it not that the Weird Sister proceeds to interpret her own oracle in the plainest terms.

I will drain him dry as hay!
Sleep shall neither night nor day
Hang upon his pent-house lid.
He shall live a man forbid.
Weary se'nights nine times nine
Shall he dwindle, peak, and pine.
Though his bark cannot be lost,
Yet it shall be tempest-tost!

Nothing can be clearer than the witch's intentions. Arrived at Aleppo, she will take the shape of a rat in order to slip on board the *Tiger* unnoticed. This, and not to use her teeth, is the object of the transformation. Then she will bewitch the craft and lay a spell upon the captain. There is no question of scuttling the ship. The witch, as she tells us herself, controls the winds. She will make them contrary, so that the *Tiger*, though destined to reach port at last, shall be tossed about in storm and distress for nine times nine weeks, until the water is all gone and the provisions are exhausted. The master shall pine away with hunger and thirst and lack of sleep, until the full measure of vengeance is exacted. Then, and not till then, shall he come home to the fat ronyon, his wife, who denied the hag a chestnut and bade her begone for a foul witch. Alice Trevisard's revenge was equally swift and terrible—a fire at sea, an open boat, and a Spanish prison. Our document is of 1601,

and *Macbeth* was written not far from 1605. The one falls just before the accession of James I., the other shortly after his accession. Surely, in view of such stories as William Tompson's, we should hesitate to affirm that the interest in witchcraft which manifested itself in England soon after James ascended the throne was due to the king's influence. Let us rather infer that his accession found the agitation already under way and of long standing. Such an inference, by the way, is amply supported by the records of the time. But let us return to the sea.

A tale of all but incomparable wildness concerning a bewitched ship is reported by one Captain Silas Taylor, writing from Harwich, in England, to Joseph Williamson, keeper of state papers. The letter is dated November 2, 1667.

They tell a strange story at Ipswich [says the captain] of one of their ships that was lost in the late storms; that another of the same town passing by them, and being well acquainted, they sent their remembrances to friends; the master, Jonathan Banticke, to his parents, one Hornegild, a passenger who had lost his ship at Scarborough Road, his love to his wife and children, and all the other seamen to their relations. When asked the reason, and whether their ship was leaky, or what they wanted, the first ship replied that they had long labored to free their maintop, where sat a couple of witches, but by all that they could do, could not remove nor get them down, and so they were lost people. The master named the two witches to the second ship's master and his company, insomuch that they are now in jail at Ipswich. The story is credibly reported by the second ship, and generally believed.⁸

Thomas Heywood repeats a story which he got from an old acquaintance ("a woman of good credit and reputation"). This lady, while at Amsterdam, awaiting passage for England, left an old woman some money, taking a brass kettle as security, "which she did, knowing it to be serviceable for her to keep a charcoal fire in at sea, to comfort her and her child". The debtor could not pay, and yet objected vigorously to having the kettle go out of the country. They parted on ill terms: "Carry it away if thou canst!" cried the hag defiantly. "Marry, and I will trie what I can doe!" replied the lady, with some spirit.

The Maister called aboard, the wind stood faire, the Sea was calme, and the weather pleasant: but they had not beene many houres at Sea, when there arose a suddene, sad, and terrible tempest, as if the winds and waters had beene at dissention, and the distempered ayre at warre with both. A mightie storme then arose, insomuch that the Maister protested, that in his life he had not seene the like, and, being in despaire of shipwracke, desired both Saylers and passengers to betake themselves to their prayers. This word came from them that laboured

⁸ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1667-1668, p. 4.

above the Hatches to those that were stowed under: their present feare made them truly apprehend the danger, and betake themselves to their devotions; when suddenly one casting up his eyes, espyed an old woman sitting on the top of the maine Mast: The Maister saw her, and all those that were above, being at the sight much amased. The rumor of this went downe, which the gentlewoman hearing (who was then sitting with her child in her Cabbin and warming it over a Charcoale fire made in the Kettle). "O God!" sayth she (remembring her former words) "then the old woman is come after me for her Kettle;" the Maister, apprehending the businesse, "Marrie and then let her have it!" saith he, and takes the Kettle, coales and all, and casts them overboord into the Sea. This was no sooner done, but the Witch dismounts her selfe from the Mast, goes aboard the Brasse Kettle, and in a moment sailes out of sight: the Ayre cleared, the Windes grew calme, the tempest ceased, and she had a faire and speedie passage into England. This tough yarn Heywood certifies he had heard confirmed by other passengers on the same voyage.⁹

The next deposition in the manuscript is that of Christian Webbar. We will pass it over for a moment, to take up the examination of Christopher Honywell, since that, like William Tompson's, has to do with the sea. Christopher's deposition is unique. He was a lad of thirteen, and seems to have been playing about the harbor with another boy, Peter Trevisard, Michael and Alice's son, when the strange thing happened which tended to show that no member of the family was free from the taint of sorcery. The document is short and I shall append it entire. It would be quite charming in its naïve wonder if it were found in less sinister company.

Th' examination of Christopher Honywell aged thirteen years or thereabout, taken as aforesaid the 2 of October, 1601.

This examine saith that about Whitsuntide last he was with Peter Trevisard, son of the said Michael Trevisard, at a place at Hardness where the fishermen use to hang their nets; where the said young Trevisard did put off his father's boat, saying, "Go thy ways to New Quay, and go between the two lighters, and I will meet thee there." And farther this examine saith that he ran with the young Trevisard to the New Quay presently after, and found the boat there between the two lighters, the said quay being distant near two flight-shoots from the place where the boat was so thrust off, as aforesaid, and not right against [*i. e.*, opposite] the same place, but on one side, the said two lighters also being so near together that there was but room enough for the boat to go in.

TH: RIDGWAY.

Enchanted boats that obey their master's will, or guide themselves without the helmsman's touch, are well known in the realm

⁹ Thomas Heywood, *Γυναικειον* or, *Nine Bookes of Various History concerning Women* (1624), pp. 414-415.

of faery. Here belong the *Argo* with its talking figure-head, and the ships of the Phaeacians, which knew men's minds and the way to every port; here, too, the self-moving ship in Marie's *Lai de Guigemar*. Frithiof had a ship which understood his words and obeyed them. Svend Ranild, in the Danish ballad, stood upon the shore in great need of his ship, which was anchored in the offing. He blew such a blast that his horn burst into three pieces: "'Come ye not in?' quoth Ranild."

That was Ranild's golden ship,
That heard the horn so good;
She broke asunder cables nine,
And came to where he stood.
"Be thou welcome", quoth Ranild.¹⁰

The bearing of young Christopher's testimony should not be misconceived. It was merely confirmatory of the general proposition that the Trevisards possessed uncanny powers. To insist on its frivolity and hold up our hands in horror at the criminal folly of our forefathers in sending men and women to the gallows on such grounds is *parum ad rem*. No witch was ever convicted on evidence like this, nor were such harmless feats of seamanship punishable at all under the law. There was plenty of serious evidence against the Trevisards, as we have seen. And with this caveat we may revert to the deposition of Christian Webbar, which is quite different from anything we have had before, and of very particular interest.

Christian was a widow in Hardness. She had let a tenement in the village to Michael Trevisard at a yearly rent of twenty-six shillings and eightpence. He had paid only six and eightpence, and Christian demanded the pound that was in arrears. "It shall be the worse for you!" was Alice Trevisard's response. Then followed a very curious piece of malignant sorcery. Alice cast water upon Christian's stairs. One Isabel Tozar saw it done, and warned Christian to

beware how she went up her stairs, which this examine refrained accordingly for a space, in which mean space the said Alice Trevisard herself happened to pass through some part of the said stairs. And

¹⁰ Grundtvig, *Danmarks Gamle Folkeviser*, vol. I., p. 374, no. 28. Since my version is a trifle free, I subjoin the original stanza (28):

Ded ware denn for-gyldene snecke,
der hand den liud feck:
hun seigled i sønder di acker-strengie nie,
och hun thill Ranellid geck.
Wer du well-kommen! sagde Ranild.

within one hour after, the said Alice, and this examinee also, fell grievously sick, and part of the hands, fingers, and toes of the said Alice rotted and consumed away, as yet appears by her.

The singularity of this piece of sorcery consists in the fact that the maleficent magic took effect on the witch herself when she heedlessly came under its influence. Alice fell into the pit which she had dug for another. Christian suffered too, on the principle of sympathy, but the virulence of the infection was felt chiefly by its contriver.

Joan Davye testified that her husband George had a quarrel with Michael Trevisard. Within a se'nnight thereafter Joan was sitting by the fire with a young child in her arms when the child leapt into the fire and was "very much scalded". When Trevisard heard of it, he said that he could help the child in twenty-four hours, if he wished, but that he would never do good to George Davye or any of his family. Davye seems to have been at sea at the time. At all events, the very week after, on "the same voyage" (so runs the testimony) "the said George Davye was hurt very grievously in shooting off a piece for pleasure". Joan also declared that one Henry Oldreeve had some differences with Trevisard, and that soon after Oldreeve lost twenty fat wethers in one week and "he himself languished and died".

William Cozen was another person who had fallen out with Trevisard. In this case the vengeance, though deferred, was none the less certain. Within a quarter of a year, William's daughter-in-law was sadly afflicted. Without a blow or any visible cause "her neck shrunk down between her two shoulders, and her chin touched her breast, and so remaineth still in a very strange manner". This accusation, like some others that we have already looked at, finds its parallel in the Lancashire case of 1612. Alison Device was the granddaughter of old Elizabeth Demdike, who had been a devotee of sorcery for fifty years and is described as "a general agent for the devil in those parts". Alison bore witness against both her mother and her grandmother; but she herself was implicated, confessed, and was hanged. Her offense was the laming of Abraham Law, a peddler. Abraham excited the compassion of the court by his miserable plight. Before his encounter with Alison Device, he

was a verie able sufficient stout man of Bodie, and a goodly man of Stature. But by this Devilish art of Witch-craft his head is drawne awrie, his Eyes and face deformed, his speech not well to bee understood; his Thighes and Legges starcke lame; his Armes lame especially

the left side, his handes lame and turned out of their course, his Bodie able to indure no travell: and thus remaineth at this present time.¹¹

Alison was asked if she could cure the poor creature, and, though repentant, insisted that this was beyond her power. As in the case of Christian Webbar's infected stairs, the spells acted dynamically, when once they were set in motion, and passed quite beyond the witch's control. "The gods themselves cannot recall their gifts."

William Cozen's deposition closes with a bit of graphic horror which defies commentary in its simple impressiveness: "Further this examine saith that Joan Cozen, wife of this examine, being in her deathbed, requested this examine that if Alice Trevisard, wife of the foresaid Michael Trevisard, did come to her grave, he should beat her away."

The evidence of Susan Tooker (or Turke) is very definite. It involves all three Trevisards, Michael and Alice and Peter their son. About four years ago, she declared, Alice Trevisard threatened her in plain terms: "I will not leave thee worth a gray groat!" Walter Tooker, Susan's husband, was just starting on a voyage. He lost both ship and goods, though the weather was fair. Further, it appears that young Peter Trevisard had been refused drink by Susan, whereupon he said "that it had been better to have delivered him drink". Next day Susan sickened, and she suffered for seven weeks. Finally, averred Susan, Mr. Martin, in the year of his mayoralty, set up a fold, or pound, at Hardness, to keep timber in. Michael Trevisard said: "Martin, hast thou made a fold? Wind and weather shall tear up all!" And so it happened, nor could Mr. Martin keep his fold in place. "Since that time it hath been set up in the millpool, where no stormy weather can annoy it. Yet sithence it hath been plucked up very strangely, for it riseth up altogether, being timber of an exceeding great weight and bigness."

The trivial nature of some of the charges brought against alleged witches and wizards often excites the contemptuous mirth of the modern. But there is no sense or reason in such an attitude of mind. The importance of a piece of evidence should not be measured by the actual importance of the occurrence testified to, but by its significance with regard to the point at issue, that is, with regard to the question whether the defendant was or was not a practiser of "arts inhibited and out of warrant". Nobody scoffs at a prosecuting attorney now-a-days for spending his energies over scraps of paper or thumb-prints or scratched hands when a murder trial is in progress. It is just as absurd to jeer at our ancestors for

¹¹ Potts, *Wonderfull Discoverie of Witchcraft*, sig. S.

troubling themselves about exploding ale-barrels or butter that would not "come". The malice of a witch, according to the general hypothesis, may show itself in small things as well as in great. Jeering is poor business anywhere, but, if we must be contemptuous, let us concentrate our energies on the doctrine itself. No true philosopher will see anything ridiculous in the testimony of Joan Laishe, except the essential absurdity of the whole underlying thesis.

Joan, it seems, had once refused Alice Trevisard a halfpenny-worth of ale, and Alice had retorted in the customary fashion. "That shall be a hard halfpennyworth!" and "I will not leave you worth a groat!" Two days after, one of Joan's ale-casks "on the sudden leapt up of itself", and fell on the ground. The cask burst, and all the ale was lost.

Among the secondary causes of witch prosecution, the "healer", or white witch, regularly plays a conspicuous rôle. When consulted in sickness, she is quick to ascribe the ailment to evil arts, and is often ready enough to name the culprit. There need be no malice in this rôle of the white witch. She is simply in the same primitive stage of medical science which ascribes every malady to the personal enmity of a sorcerer. As to designating the guilty party, that is of course requisite. We must know who our enemy is if we are to resist or forestall his assaults.

I have said that our Devon documents include all or most of the typical features of an English witchcraft case. Accordingly, the wise woman is not lacking. Her name was Blachford, Mother Blachford of Bridgetown. Alice Trevisard, it appears, called at John Denman's house in Kingswear, alleging that she had a letter for his wife. Mistress Denman was not at home. Alice showed a piece of paper to Denman's daughter, but the girl would not touch it, because she had heard that Alice was a witch. Soon after one of Denman's children fell sick. Mother Blachford, to whom he resorted for medicine, told him that Alice Trevisard had bewitched the child. "When you go home", said Mother Blachford, "you shall find that Alice was at your house this morning with what she said was a letter." Denman inquired accordingly, and learned what had happened in his absence. There is some vagueness at this point, which cross-questioning might have dissipated. It is obvious, however, that the paper was suspected to be a charm. At all events, Denman declared that he never heard of the letter again. What became of the child is not stated. Probably it recovered, in spite of Alice's spell and Mother Blachford's remedy.

Oddly enough, I find among my notes a fragment of New Eng-

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land tradition attaching to a Massachusetts witch named Blatchford. I obtained it, about thirty years ago, from a lady of eighty-four, who had heard the story from "old Mr. David Loring's wife", the victim of the spell. It is a small matter, but has not only the coincidence of name to excuse one for telling it, but also a certain relation of locality. Barnstable, where the thing happened, is named after the Devonshire Barnstaple. It was settled in 1639, and the spelling with *b* instead of *p* was a common method of writing the name of the Devonian town in the seventeenth century and is still a common local pronunciation. Some of the pioneers of the Old Colony town were Devon men. The Indian trail from Barnstable Harbor straight across Cape Cod is now a public highway, known as Mary Dunn's Road, from an Indian woman who once lived in a hut near a pond which the trail passes. The pond, too, is called after Mary Dunn. It is a pretty little sheet of water, lying quite solitary in the midst of the woods. One day, as Mrs. Loring reported, she was returning on horseback to Barnstable from the village of Hyannis, at the southern end of the trail, and, when she was nearing the pond, one Lizzie Blatchford, a witch, who lived on the margin, bewitched her horse, so that he insisted on going round and round the pond for a long time. To all intents and purposes, as we see, old Mrs. Loring was "pixey-led", and we have in her little anecdote a good instance of the connection between the fairies and witchcraft. Her remedy, if she had only known it, was to turn her cloak inside out and so reverse the spell. Bishop Corbet, best known to literature as the author of *The Fairies' Farewell*, had a similar adventure not far from 1620, and has left us a humorous account of it in his *Iter Boreale*. Corbet, not yet a bishop, was lost with his companions in Charley Forest, on the way from Newark to Bosworth.

Whilst in this mill wee labour and turne round
 As in a conjurers circle, William found
 A menes for our deliverance: "Turne your cloakes",
 Quoth hee, "for Puck is busy in these oakes:
 If ever yee at Bosworth will be found,
 Then turne your cloakes, for this is Fayry-ground!"
 But, ere this witchcraft was perform'd, wee mett
 A very man, who had no cloven feete;
 Though William, still of little faith, doth doubt
 'Tis Robin, or some sprite that walkes about.
 "Strike him!" quoth hee, "and it will turne to ayre;
 Crosse your selves thrice and strike it!" "Strike that dare,"
 Thought I, "for sure this massy forrester
 In stroakes will prove the better conjurer."

There is one more deposition in our manuscript—that of John Galsworthie of Hardness. It affords no novelties, but may be given in full to complete the record.

The examination of John Galsworthie of Hardness in the County aforesaid, husbandman, taken before Sir Thomas Ridgway, Knight, the eighth of April, 1602.

This examinee sayeth that about four years sithence, his wife demanded certain money of Alice Trevisard, the wife of Michael Trevisard of Hardness, which she owed her; whereunto the said Alice Trevisard answered, "I pray God that thou never prosper in body nor goods!" And never sithence did he, this examinee, or his wife, prosper in body or goods; for in very short time after that the said Alice Trevisard had spoken those words, he was taken lame in all his body and went by two crutches twelvemonth after. And further this examinee saith that his wife was never well in her body, sithence, but consumed away, and died at Christmas last past. And also this examinee sayeth that he had a sow great with pigs, which pigs rotted in the sow's belly within six weeks after his wife had demanded the money of the foresaid Trevisard, as aforesaid.

TH: RIDGWAY.

These documents are interesting enough as pictures of life and manners. But, as already suggested, their chief claim to our notice rests upon their date and upon the pure and unmixed form in which they exhibit the essential element in all witchcraft. The latter point needs no emphasis. The outcry against Michael Trevisard and his family was raised by the people itself—by the unadulterated, unsophisticated "folk", instigated only by its own primeval philosophy of *maleficium*. There were no social or political or theological complications. We have simply an upheaval from below, from the abysmal pit of savagery out of which the human race has had to struggle up. And such uncontaminated testimony, coming at this particular moment (in 1601 and 1602), is of very special consequence. If we are to comprehend the history of witchcraft in England, we must keep in mind, for this exact time, a clear idea of the intellectual condition of just that class to which Alice Butler and Joan Baddaford and William Tompson and all the other complainants belonged. Queen Elizabeth died in 1603, and King James's witchcraft act was passed in 1604. There is a more or less general impression that this act was momentous, and that the accession of James gave an extraordinary impulse to prosecution. If, as all will agree, our documents are typical of the state of popular feeling in 1601 and 1602, they offer an instant challenge to this idea. Anyhow they make short work of the notion that English witchcraft was a theological importation from the Continent.

G. L. KITTREDGE.

THE LORDS OF TRADE AND PLANTATIONS, 1675-1696

MUCH has been done by writers and students to explain the long-neglected rôle of the old colonies in the unfolding of Britain's first empire; much remains to be done before Anglo-colonial relations are fully known and appreciated. The field itself is broad, the angle of vision is new, and the great mass of available material has not yet been made to shed its full light on the subject. The history of the central organs of imperial control, a subject of essential importance, has been presented in late years in studies of a scholarly and exhaustive nature, but they have left out of account, except in an incidental way, the history of the full score of years fixed by this paper.¹ To fill this gap, if only to make the account continuous, is a desideratum. There is, however, a more striking reason. The period itself is significant because of the marked trend toward administrative dominance in all that had to do with the advancement of the interests and ideals of the empire. This paper proposes to deal with the machinery of imperial control as evidenced in organization, personnel, methods, and spirit.

When the home government first assumed the cares and functions of governing a wide empire there was no thought of separating matters chiefly external in character from those wholly or mainly domestic. Traditionally the outlying portions of the realm, "the Scotch borders, the Welsh marches, the Channel Islands, and Ireland were in a special sense" the care of the Privy Council. By custom, therefore, colonies across the sea became subject to its particular direction.² The council was a body of the personal and responsible advisers of the king, embracing the chief ministers of state, officials of the royal household, a few bishops, and some not otherwise holding office. In Tudor days, when the council was small in size and its area of competence did not include the sweep

¹ Andrews, *British Committees, Commissions, and Councils of Trade and Plantations* (Johns Hopkins Studies, XXVI.), for the period prior to 1675. Andrews, *Guide to Materials for American History in the Public Record Office*, I. 82-100; Dickerson, *American Colonial Government*; Clarke, "Board of Trade at Work", *American Historical Review*, XVII. 17 (1911); Root, *Relations of Pennsylvania with the British Government*, ch. II., for the period 1696-1783. Osgood, *The American Colonies*, III. 147-154, 280-282; Beer, *Old Colonial System*, pt. I., vol. I., ch. IV., for incidental and collateral treatment of the subject for 1660-1689.

² Cheyney, *History of England*, 1588-1603, I. 69-70.

of empire, it worked as a unit with a good measure of efficiency and responsibility.³ In Stuart days the increased membership, averaging thirty-five under the earlier and forty-five under the later kings, made the council an unwieldy body at a time when it was subjected to the pressure of an expanding business. To meet this situation, to insure care and despatch in the transaction of affairs, the committee system was adopted. A division of labor was even more necessary in the Restoration era to enable the council to keep pace and cope with the manifold problems and interests brought into play by the rapid and striking expansion of empire.⁴ In May, 1660, within two months after his return from exile, Charles II. appointed a "Committee for Foreign Plantations" to deal with exigent colonial questions, and such a committee continued to be one of the important standing divisions of the council.⁵ Also from time to time temporary committees were named to handle oversea problems of special note and difficulty.⁶ These committees were charged with the duties of originating, hearing, planning, deciding, and reporting to the king and council for final action.⁷

This arrangement involved the grave danger that the council's circle of interests, filled with the numerous and undifferentiated concerns of domestic, foreign, and imperial issues, would prove altogether too vast and complex to permit a full and intelligent conduct of all. The danger was rooted in the very nature of the pre-Restoration period, when the conflict of rival groups distracted the state and left the ruling authorities little time available for imperial guidance. During the confusion of the Puritan experiments in government the administration of colonies and commerce was conducted in a cumbersome, indifferent, and amateur manner.⁸

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 65-80.

⁴ Carlyle, "Committees of Council under the Earlier Stuarts", *English Historical Review*, XXI. 673-675 (1906); Turner, "Committees of Council and the Cabinet, 1660-1688", *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XIX. 772-776 (1914). For lists of the councillors consult *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial* (cited as *A. P. C., Col.*), V., addendum.

⁵ *A. P. C., Col.*, vol. I., §§ 484, 515, 572, 693, 717, 747; Andrews, *Brit. Comm.*, pp. 61-63, 79-80, 87-91.

⁶ For the special committees on Jamaica, New England, Newfoundland, etc., see *A. P. C., Col.*, vol. I., §§ 491, 508, 513, 522, 529, 536, 539, 585, 625, 725, 735.

⁷ For example, the committee of 1660 was directed "to receive, heare, examine, and deliberate upon any Petitions, propositions, Memorials, or other Addresses which shalbee presented or brought in by any person or persons concerninge the Plantations . . . and from tyme to tyme make their Report to this Bord [king and council] of their proceedinges". *Ibid.*, § 484.

⁸ Andrews, *Brit. Comm.*, pp. 25-48. In Cromwell's time the governor and council of Virginia were informed by London friends that "the more pressing Affairs heere, have hitherto hindred these our Endeavors" to secure a commission of government for the colony. Add. MSS. 11411, f. 19.

The result was that the colonies, strongly predisposed to self-direction, promptly seized the opportunity to take their own way without hindrance. But the English merchants, whose commercial interests were especially imperilled by the drift, were provoked to deplore the lack of political unity and strength in the empire. They felt, and justly so, that inexperience in the intricate problems of commerce and colonies and preoccupation with domestic politics and foreign affairs made it impossible for the Privy Council to be an alert, constant, and competent colonial department. They urged as a remedy the erection of a special board of skilled personnel, to sit continuously and aloof from politics, to advise the king and council on the affairs of trade and plantations.⁹

In 1660 the king gave heed to the desires of the merchants and for fifteen years a series of separate councils performed the greater share of the functions of examination and report. But their varying history fell far short of the hopes entertained for them. Indeed it was almost inevitable that the administration of empire should proceed with slow and halting steps in the first years of the Restoration. The greater and necessarily prior problems of founding an assured empire and of framing the essential principles upon which it was to be regulated engrossed the thought and force of expansionists and overshadowed administration. The planting of new and the conquest of foreign colonies, the incorporation of new and the strengthening of old trading companies, the passage of the acts of trade, and the attendant wars with the Dutch are the notable events which bear witness to the emergence of England as an imperial power. In addition imperial control was perplexed by the persistence of domestic political instability. The feverish but slow readjustments of internal balances, seriously shattered by the Puritan Revolt, bred political discord that weakened the force of the state.¹⁰ And further, the ruling class was without experience or precedent in dealing with the questions involved in the control of remote colonies. In view of the novelty of the problem it is small wonder that mistakes, experiment, and change entered into the creation of the machinery and practices of imperial control. And so it was that the select councils of trade and plantations worked

⁹ Andrews, *Brit. Comm.*, pp. 49-60.

¹⁰ Osgood, *Am. Cols.*, III. 192, for the influence of political change on Massachusetts affairs. In 1668 the governor of Jamaica complained that the laws sent home three years before for royal review "have been neglected to this day"; and in 1671 he declared that the report on the laws was not returned by reason of the fall of Clarendon. *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1661-1668*, § 1702; 1669-1674, § 704, p. 302.

under the heavy handicaps of frequent change, domestic difficulties, and political caprice that broke the force and continuity of their labors.¹¹

On December 21, 1674, the king abolished the Council for Trade and Plantations, and on February 9, 1675, appointed a committee of the Privy Council to take up the threads of business "left loose and at large" for seven weeks.¹² Various reasons have been assigned for the change. The dismissal of Shaftesbury from power in the summer of 1673 may account for the fall of the board of which he was sponsor and leader. On account of the depletion of the royal exchequer Danby, the new lord treasurer, began a policy of retrenchment. It may be that the saving of £5400 by substituting unpaid privy councillors for a salaried board was attractive. These reasons are largely conjectural and, whatever their immediate force, they do not account in full for the abolition of a select board. By 1675 the disjointed nature of the imperial structure was realized and the conviction arose that successful management was more urgent than any further extension of the boundaries of empire. It was recognized that the essential defect was the absence of vigorous, responsible, and continuous central administration. The failure of select councils suggested as a remedy that the control of imperial relations should be given outright into the hands of a committee of the immediate royal councillors.¹³

Merchants who were interested in the empire might well have questioned whether a council committee would be sufficiently free and skilled to give to commerce and colonies that measure of attentive and intelligent treatment which their growing importance and complexity deserved. The change was experimental; results alone could determine whether it was a wise measure. In fact the council committee, known as the Lords of Trade and Plantations, assumed its duties in 1675 with a high sense of loyalty and a display of energy that ended a period of drift and opened a decade of unified and forceful conduct in imperial control. The conditions were favorable to imperial centralization. The dominance of Charles II. over the forces of opposition created a brief period of

¹¹ The history of these boards has been fully and ably discussed by Andrews, *Brit. Comm.*, pp. 61-111.

¹² *A. P. C., Col.*, vol. I., § 1021; *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1669-1674, § 1412; 1675-1676, §§ 460-464, 648, 649; *Lords of Trade Journals* (8 vols., transcribed from the originals in the London Public Record Office for the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, cited as L. T. J.), I. 1-2, 8-9.

¹³ Andrews, *Brit. Comm.*, pp. 111-114; Beer, *Old Col. System*, pt. I., vol. I., pp. 250-255.

internal stability, and the close of the Dutch wars in 1675 brought years of peace abroad. By these two causes the council was enabled, more freely than in the first years after the Restoration, to bend its energies toward the administrative aspects of empire. The royal order to sit once a week was not followed with regularity, yet the committee averaged fifty sessions a year for the first decade.¹⁴ The greatest attention to colonial and commercial questions was manifested in the years 1676 and 1677, when the number of sittings reached the high figures of eighty-nine and seventy-one respectively.¹⁵

The passions of politics were not without their distracting influence on the committee. During the mad times of the Popish Plot in 1678 the sessions for the year fell to the low figure of twenty-nine. The Lords of Trade frankly confessed that "the multiplicity of affairs in Parliament and the prosecution of the Plot" forced them for the moment to suspend action on pressing colonial matters.¹⁶ Colonial autonomy, imperilled by aggressive central control, now as before found temporary relief in the turn of English politics. Massachusetts, defiant in spirit and conduct, took full advantage of the situation to thwart the attacks on her precious charter.¹⁷ But if political mutations worked to the benefit of colonial self-direction, imperial control suffered thereby. Governors in the royal colonies of the West Indies, anxiously awaiting instructions, wrote home in complaint of the sacrifice of the urgent needs of remote provinces to domestic politics.¹⁸ And during the next six years, when the Test Act and the Exclusion Bill raised political and social issues that bred factious discontent, the sessions ranged from thirty-five to forty-five a year, marking a significant decline from the good record of the first few years.¹⁹ After all, in the first

¹⁴ March, 1675, the committee appointed for its "constant dayes of sitting Thursdays in the forenoone, and oftener as the occasion shall require". L. T. J., I. 8.

¹⁵ This record compares very favorably with that of the active Council of Plantations of 1670-1674. Andrews, *Brit. Comm.*, pp. 101, 110.

¹⁶ *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1677-1680, §§ 912, 1014, 1028.

¹⁷ Massachusetts gave as one reason for not sending agents in response to the royal demand that "we understand His Majesty and Privy Council are taken up with matters of greater importance". *Ibid.*, 1677-1680, § 1388; 1681-1685, § 126.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1677-1680, §§ 894, 974, 975.

¹⁹ In 1682 the lieutenant-governor of Virginia wrote home complaining that "Nothing has been concluded here for near two years, which one could think was time enough to give notice to this poor Colony"; and the governor of Jamaica in 1683 declared that he had sent home frequent reports but had received no reply. *Ibid.*, 1681-1685, §§ 550, 1065.

decade the committee met with a frequency and displayed an enthusiasm that apparently justified the wisdom of entrusting it with full supervision of colonial-commercial relations.

Measured by the tests of experience and interests, the Lords of Trade were qualified for their tasks. The plantation committee, whose origin has been stated above, had had an almost unbroken existence since 1660. Even in the days when limited by the activity of the select councils, it exercised a certain measure of direction, and it assumed complete charge during 1665-1670 when the special boards lived only in name.²⁰ Of greater significance is the striking continuity in the membership of the committee for twenty-five years. When the king in 1675 appointed a large committee of twenty-one "for Matters relating to Trade and his Forrain Plantations", he wisely preserved the line of competent personnel by designating an inner group of nine to "have the immediate Care and Intendency of those Affaires in regard they had been formerly conversant and acquainted therewith".²¹

The most attentive members of the committee during the first decade were those who had served an apprenticeship in the council committees and select boards of trade and plantations during 1660-1675. This small group of active, reliable, and trained councillors included Sir George Carteret, Arthur Annesley, earl of Anglesey, John Robartes, earl of Radnor, William, earl of Craven, John Egerton, second earl of Bridgewater, and Prince Rupert.²² All attended the sessions of the Lords of Trade with commendable regularity.²³ Anglesey's knowledge of certain aspects of expansion was recognized by the committee and his influence was sought by certain colonial governors and proprietors.²⁴ Equally noteworthy was the

²⁰ Andrews, *Brit. Comm.*, pp. 61-63, 79-80.

²¹ L. T. J., I. 8-9; *A. P. C., Col.*, vol. I., § 1021.

²² *Dictionary of National Biography*, II. 1 (Annesley); IX. 208 (Carteret); XIII. 43 (Craven); XVII. 156 (Egerton); XLVIII. 339 (Robartes); XLIX. 405 (Rupert). Annesley, Carteret, and Robartes had been members of the council committees and select councils since 1660, and Craven and Bridgewater since 1668. *A. P. C., Col.*, vol. I., §§ 484, 491, 513, 522, 529, 536, 572, 576, 610, 693, 747.

²³ Craven attended seventy-five per cent. of the total sessions 1675-1685, Bridgewater forty per cent., Sir John Ernle, chancellor of the exchequer, and Thomas Belasyse, viscount Fauconberg, each about twenty-six per cent. Anglesey, lord privy seal, was present at sixty per cent. of the sessions 1675-1682, Carteret, vice chamberlain, thirty-nine per cent. 1675-1679, Radnor, lord president, sixty-four per cent. 1679-1684, Rupert thirty-five per cent. 1679-1682.

²⁴ *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1675-1676, §§ 662, 916, 1106; 1677-1680, § 91; 1681-1685, §§ 129, 180; L. T. J., I. 240-242. Radnor as a member of the old Providence Company linked the pre-revolutionary and Restoration periods of expansion. Newton, *Colonising Activities of the English Puritans*, pp. 75-76.

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intimate relationship of the statesmen and officials of the day in the various enterprises of empire building. Charles II., the Duke of York, and Prince Rupert, of the royal family, were either shareholders or high in the councils of the East India, Hudson's Bay, Royal African, and Royal Fishery companies.²⁵ York and Rupert were prominent in the direction of the navy, a cardinal factor in the development of empire. Carteret, Craven, and Anglesey, with Shaftesbury, Arlington, and other statesmen of the day, were patentees of the various colonial and commercial ventures in the period.²⁶ It was a remarkable group of the chief personalities of the court and council, whose interest, experience, and length of service aided substantially in giving impulse to external growth as well as continuity and force to imperial control under Charles II.

Within this active circle, after 1679, are to be included the rising and capable young statesmen, Henry Hyde, earl of Clarendon, and Laurence, earl of Rochester, sons of the first Clarendon, himself a zealous expansionist, and George Savile, viscount Halifax, with previous experience in maritime affairs.²⁷ Sir Francis North, brother of Sir Dudley, the great merchant aristocrat, was very active in colonial control both as chief justice and as a lord of trade.²⁸ Henry Compton, translated to the see of London in 1675, exhibited as head of the diocese, whose colonial jurisdiction was recognized, and as a member of the plantation committee, an in-

²⁵ Hunter, *History of British India*, II. 182; Scott, *Joint Stock Companies*, II. 17, 20, 148, 149; III. 535, 536; Willson, *The Great Company*, p. 50; Carr, *Select Charters of Trading Companies* (Selden Soc. Pubs., XXVIII.), pp. 173, 178, 182, 187, 197.

²⁶ Tedder, *Navy of the Restoration*. Anglesey, Arlington, Carteret, Craven, and Shaftesbury were patentees and stockholders of the Royal African Company, 1672; Arlington, Craven, and Carteret were patentees of the Royal Fishery Company, 1664; and Arlington, Craven, and Shaftesbury of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1670. Arlington, Carteret, Craven, Shaftesbury, and the Duke of York were colonial proprietors and promoters. Ward, *Christopher Monck, Duke of Albemarle*, p. 285; Carr, *Select Charters*, pp. 173, 179, 182, 188; Willson, *The Great Company*, p. 50; MacDonald, *Select Charters*, pp. 121, 136, 139, 149; Beer, *Old Col. System*, pt. I., vol. II., pp. 131, 181, 341.

²⁷ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XXVIII. 389, 394; L. 356. Rochester, Clarendon, and Halifax each attended about forty-five per cent. of the sessions 1679-1685. For the previous experience of Halifax in trade affairs, see Andrews, *Brit. Comm.*, pp. 93, 106.

²⁸ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XLI. 155. North attended forty-seven per cent. of the sessions 1679-1684, but with special regularity 1683-1684 as lord keeper. For North's activity as a member of the committee see L. T. J., III. 217, 218, 219-221, 248, 249-250; IV. 93-94; *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1677-1680, §§ 1551, 1567, 1592; 1681-1685, §§ 8, 542, 560, 857, 859.

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telligent and earnest care for the moral and spiritual welfare of the colonists.²⁹

The part played by the office of secretary of state in imperial control deserves brief treatment. It had not yet risen to the dignity of an independent department of state, but in an age when government was royal and personal, it was subject to the executive dominance of king and council. The two secretaries, nominally equal in position and sharing the duties of the office, were executive agents. The influence they exercised was a matter of personality and ability, resting on the initiative and force they exhibited as members of the committee which debated and planned foreign and colonial affairs and as officials in carrying out instructions and orders.³⁰ Sir Joseph Williamson, 1674–1679, and Sir Henry Coventry, 1672–1680, brought to the office rich experience and knowledge of imperial relations. Coventry no doubt acquired an interest in the colonial world as brother-in-law of Shaftesbury, the enthusiastic imperialist, and was well equipped to handle foreign intercourse by his services on important diplomatic missions abroad.³¹ Williamson's career in the central imperial service lasted through a score of years. He began as clerk to Sir Edward Nicholas, secretary 1660–1662, and was continued in the employ of Sir Henry Bennet, earl of Arlington, secretary 1662–1674. Arlington was deeply interested in expansion; he was a colonial proprietor and a patentee of several commercial companies, and as secretary made the advancement of commerce the key-note of his foreign policy. His superior influence drew most of the colonial and foreign business into his hands and so by long years of service Williamson came into constant and direct touch with oversea affairs. John Evelyn, a keen observer of official life from the inside, recorded that Arlington "loving his ease more than business . . . remitted all to his man Williamson". Arlington was probably more interested in the fixing of policy than the drudgery of routine. Be that as it may, Williamson followed his master as one of the principal secretaries well versed in colonial information and the technique of imperial control. His detailed notes on colonies, commerce, and fisheries, begun in the days of minor service and laboriously kept up as sec-

²⁹ Cross, *Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies*, ch. II.; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XI, 443. For his activities in the colonial field see *Cal. St. P., Col.*, vols. for 1675–1696, index under Compton.

³⁰ Andrews, *Guide*, I, 18–22; Barbour, *Earl of Arlington*, pp. 57–59; Beer, *Old Col. System*, pt. I., vol. I., p. 230; Andrews, *Colonial Period*, pp. 121–131.

³¹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XII, 357.

retary, attest to a full knowledge and a keen interest in these matters.³²

Colonial business passed through the hands of both secretaries. During their incumbency a well-defined division of the colonial territory grew up, placing the southern mainland and island colonies under Coventry and the northern area under Williamson.³³ It was an unequal division, for the southern colonies by reason of their greater economic value and weaker social structure received the major share of attention. The statement of the secretary to the plantation committee that Williamson "was not very attentive to the business of Plantations" may account for the heavier burden assumed by his colleague.³⁴ Williamson, however, carried on a frequent correspondence with colonial governors and others in letters of a mixed private and public nature, offering his patronage and soliciting information for official needs and the satisfaction of a personal curiosity about the colonies.³⁵ In fine, their prior experience, their close and continuous application to the administrative functions of the office, and the information they acquired gave the two secretaries a superior place on the plantation committee and conducted in no small degree to the cohesion and force of colonial control during their time. They attended the committee assiduously and in turn it occasionally suspended debates during the absence, or altered reports to suit the wishes, of one or the other.³⁶ Sir Leoline Jenkins, secretary 1680-1684, also came to the office qualified by training in maritime and foreign affairs and showed himself to be an official of the same faithful type.³⁷

The method of working through a board of expert advisers was not discontinued. Indeed the increase of imperial business and the rise of new and complex situations in the control of trade and plantations made it very necessary that there should be some body to

³² *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, LXII. 2; Osgood, *Am. Cols.*, III. 146-147; Beer, *Old Col. System*, pt. I, vol. I, p. 9; Barbour, *Earl of Arlington*, pp. 58, 74; John Evelyn, *Diary*, July 22, 1674. For Williamson's notes see *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1661-1668, §§ 623-625, 894, 1157, 1158, 1660, 1661; 1675-1676, §§ 405, 430, 449, 900, 1053, 1100, 1171; 1677-1680, §§ 192, 201.

³³ Williamson said that no Virginia affairs passed his office. *Ibid.*, 1675-1676, § 1082; 1677-1680, § 81.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 1677-1680, § 1266.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 1675-1676, §§ 420, 505, 575, 734, 846; 1677-1680, §§ 197, 456, 543.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 1675-1676, §§ 445, 452, 701, 834, 924; 1677-1680, §§ 260, 425, 627, 917, 966, pp. 235-236; L. T. J., I. 4-5, 42, 83, 117; II. 45, 128-129, 224, 319, 326. Williamson attended seventy-five per cent. of the plantation committee meetings during his term of office after 1675, and Coventry fifty-six per cent.

³⁷ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XXIX. 302. Jenkins attended seventy-eight per cent. of the meetings 1680-1684.

lighten the labors of the busy Privy Council and to furnish it with authentic information. A special board for this purpose was done away with, but its place was filled in part in another way. The Board of Customs was created in 1671 as a treasury division to manage the customs revenues. Its functions were imperial in sweep, including the enforcement of the acts of trade and the collection of duties through its own agents at home and in America.³⁸ Its intimate and constant contact with colonies and commerce made it an especially well-informed body, which the Lords of Trade were prompt to utilize in an advisory way. In the years of its greater vigor before 1685 the committee summoned the members of the Customs Board into frequent conference, and repeatedly called upon it to submit itemized accounts of foreign and colonial trade and to report upon a wide variety of problems, such as commerce, coinage, customs service, emigration, fisheries, and finances.³⁹ The board prepared the trade instructions for the colonial governors,⁴⁰ and rendered valuable service in the review of colonial laws, going to much trouble in getting at the facts by consulting merchants, planters, colonial agents, and others.⁴¹ In all these matters the board's opinions were given high credit by the committee, which usually made them the basis of its final report to the king and council.

The Board of Customs embraced in its membership during the first quarter-century a noteworthy group of merchant princes, diplomats, economists, and expansionists of prestige. Indeed the close connection of the merchants with the statesmen and officials in the dual tasks of building and governing the empire is a striking factor in British expansion.⁴² The directors of the privileged trading companies were frequently consulted and their interests supported by the government. They were employed in the offices of

³⁸ Atton and Holland, *The King's Customs*, I. 103 ff; Andrews, *Guide*, II. 111-113; Beer, *Old Col. System*, pt. I., vol. I., pp. 262-264, 276-288.

³⁹ *Cal. St. P., Col.*, vols. for 1675-1696, *passim*; L. T. J., I. 165-167; III. 37, 46, 210, 211, 302, 309, 337-338.

⁴⁰ *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1685-1688, §§ 292, 312, 317, 573, 589, 917, 1015, 1124.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 1677-1680, § 521; 1681-1685, §§ 318, 1336, 1602, 1626, 1874, 1875; 1685-1688, § 1337; 1689-1692, § 2124; 1693-1696, §§ 892, 1947, 2127.

⁴² For instance, of the eight persons common to the Royal African Company, Council of Trade, and Council of Plantations of 1660, two were of the royal circle, five were prominent London merchants, and one a colonial planter. Andrews, *Brit. Comm.*, pp. 67-68. The history of the interlocking directorates in the companies of expansion and in the political control of empire may be traced in the careers of such great merchants as Thomas Povey, Martin Noell, Josiah Child, and Dudley North. *Ibid.*, ch. III.; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, X. 244 (Child); XLI. 152 (North); Fox Bourne, *English Merchants*, ch. XIII.

national administration, where they exerted a directive influence in imperial control, and they ruled the city and port of London to their own advantage.⁴³ On the Board of Customs were Sir Dudley North, Sir John Buckworth, Sir Patience Ward, and Sir Robert Clayton, great in the directorates of trading and merchant companies and in the municipality of London.⁴⁴ The board included also such able and active officials as Sir George Downing and Sir Richard Temple, members of former select boards of trade, Sir John Werden, for a long time agent for the Duke of York's colony on the Hudson, and Sir Robert Southwell, the first industrious secretary to the plantation committee.⁴⁵ Clayton was a factor in the colony of Bermuda.⁴⁶ Downing, Werden, and Southwell were experienced diplomats. Temple and North were the authors of notable economic tracts.⁴⁷ Above all rises the strong personality of Downing, abiding through nearly a quarter-century. Although educated at Harvard and a nephew of John Winthrop, the elder, he became a thorough imperialist. He was an active agent in the drafting and passage of the acts of trade; as a diplomat he was influential in shaping Anglo-Dutch relations in the interest of English merchants; and as a member of the Board of Customs and in frequent conference with the Lords of Trade he was a determining force in imperial administration.⁴⁸ In conclusion, its powers as an administrative body, its place as an advisory board, and the political and commercial weight of its important members, enabled the Board of

⁴³ L. T. J., I.-III., *passim*. Sir Edward Deering, subgovernor of the Hudson's Bay Company, and Sir Dudley North, a director of the Royal African and Levant companies, were commissioners of the treasury; Sir John Houblon (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XXVII. 417), master of the Grocers Company, first governor of the Bank of England, was a commissioner of the Admiralty, 1694-1699. For North's influence in colonial control, see Beer, *Old Col. System*, pt. I., vol. I., p. 160.

⁴⁴ Buckworth was high in the councils of the Royal African and Levant companies; Clayton was a member of the Royal African and Drapers' companies, and a director of the Bank of England (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XI. 17); Ward was master of the Merchant Taylors Company of London (*ibid.*, LIX. 329).

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, LVI. 37 (Temple); LIII. 299 (Southwell); LX. 295 (Werden). Downing, Buckworth, and Temple had served as members of former select councils of trade. Andrews, *Brit. Comm.*, pp. 93, 97. For Werden's activities as agent for New York, see *Cal. St. P., Col.*, vols. for 1675-1685, index under his name.

⁴⁶ The governor of Bermuda declared that the colonists believed Clayton "orders and disposes of everything here, even to the putting in and turning out of Governors". *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1689-1692, § 1843.

⁴⁷ North, *Discourses on Trade* (1691); Temple, *Essay on Taxes* (1693).

⁴⁸ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XV. 401; Beer, *Old Col. System*, pt. I., vol. I., pp. 9-11; Andrews, *Col. Self-Govt.*, pp. 14-17, 312; L. T. J., I. 84, 116, 249, 258-260, 277-278; III. 118, 119, 128-130, 149-150, 302, 317, 324-325.

Customs to mold and guide imperial relations in the interest of the mother-country and to the advantage of the privileged companies.

After all, the changes effected in imperial administration after 1675 lay rather in the infusion of a sharper tone and the perfecting of the functions of colonial control than in any radical alterations in the processes of doing things. The Lords of Trade took up their assigned tasks, not only qualified by apprenticeship and assisted by a competent board, but with many precedents to point the way. The select councils, even though they had been impotent in conduct, were not without a considerable value in fixing lines of practice and principles of colonial control that promised a better order and served as guides for the future.⁴⁹ The Lords of Trade simply took in hand the loosely co-ordinated policies initiated by the separate councils and carried them out more vigorously and more intelligently. In the matter of the systematic handling of business, previous efforts to create a bureau and methods had fallen short of good order because of the frequent changes through which the select councils had passed.⁵⁰ The Lords of Trade took prompt steps to secure an orderly procedure. The king detailed Sir Robert Southwell, one of the clerks of the Privy Council and an official of good ability, to act as constant secretary to the committee.⁵¹ To his patient toil was due the initial organization of an office, a clerical staff, and routine methods. He labored hard. The preparation of business for the committee and waiting upon it, making detailed reports, abstracting long documents from the colonies, answering letters, bringing completeness into the keeping of records, and directing routine matters in general formed the burden of his work.⁵² He complained of the lack of assistance and his health broke under the strain. In March, 1676, his request for leave to resign as permanent secretary was granted, with merited praise for his "extraordinary paines and diligence".⁵³ The plantation bureau was then placed on a regular footing. The four clerks of the council were to serve as secretaries, each in turn for six months, and

⁴⁹ Andrews, *Brit. Comm.*, pp. 108, 111.

⁵⁰ The records of the former special councils were found in a very scattered and disordered state. Andrews, *Guide*, I. 103; L. T. J., I. 9, 10, 35; *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1675-1676, §§ 464, 472; 1677-1680, §§ 768, 796, 801, 802.

⁵¹ L. T. J., I. 8-9; *A. P. C., Col.*, vol. I., § 1021.

⁵² For the detailed reports prepared by Southwell, *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1675-1676, §§ 524, 594-596, 608, 615, 738; 1677-1680, *passim*; L. T. J., I. 19, 25, 28, 29-30, 31, 59, 61, 270-275; II. 137. For the order and completeness brought into the keeping of records, see Andrews, *Guide*, I. 104.

⁵³ L. T. J., I. 39, 112-113; II. 8-9; *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1675-1676, §§ 681, 983; *A. P. C., Col.*, vol. I., § 1081.

to share £400 a year; William Blathwayt was continued "as a very fit person" to be assistant to the secretary at a yearly salary of £150; and three clerks were employed at £50 a year each. The committee sat in the Council Chamber, Whitehall, attended by the secretary, a messenger, and assistant at £50 a year, the two keepers of the chamber and the underkeeper of council records at two shillings a day each. A plantation office was opened in 1676 in two rooms leased in Scotland Yard at £30 a year, and in 1678 two more were added, doubling the rent, to meet the demands of a growing business. They were altered and equipped for office purposes at a cost of £170, and £20 a year was allowed for an office-keeper and charwoman.⁵⁴ By 1677 the salary list reached about £980 a year and the average annual outlay for salaries, rent, stationery, fuel, light, postage, and fees, as the items of usual expense, was about £1145.⁵⁵ The committee was quite conscious of the fact that trade and plantation affairs were now administered with better results at a lower cost than formerly, and this seemed to justify the abolition of special boards of paid experts.⁵⁶

It is obvious that semi-annual, and occasional quarterly, changes in the secretaryship were little likely to secure continuity and stability of practice. The Lords of Trade were well aware of this defect when Blathwayt was made assistant. Waiting until he had shown himself fitted for the place, the committee in 1677 expressed satisfaction with his "ability, diligence, and fidelity" and he received £100 a year additional salary as permanent assistant.⁵⁷ In a few years the clerks of the council enjoyed the fruits of the secretary's office as a sinecure and Blathwayt's abiding presence made him the chief man of all work. He was a young man of about twenty-six when he began, in the humble position of assistant, the career in the colonial service which, successfully weathering all political vicissitudes, lasted through a generation. He inherited a familiarity and interest in the colonial sphere as a nephew of Thomas Povey, the prominent London merchant, whose political and commercial connections at home and in the colonies were intimate and influential.⁵⁸ Southwell remained a force in the colonial

⁵⁴ L. T. J., I. 10, 162-163, 171, 177; II. 8-9, 11, 14; *A. P. C., Col.*, vol. I., § 1129.

⁵⁵ The itemized accounts for the whole period are found in British Museum, Add. MSS. 9767, 9768, and for the first years in L. T. J., I. 162-163, 224-225; II. 11-13, 84-85, 162-163, 192-194.

⁵⁶ *A. P. C., Col.*, vol. I., § 1175.

⁵⁷ L. T. J., II. 84-85, 148-149.

⁵⁸ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, V. 206; Beer, *Old Col. System*, pt. I., vol. I., p. 11; Channing, *History of the United States*, II. 218; Andrews, *Brit. Comm.*, pp. 51-

bureau until 1679, when he laid down his clerkship. Then Blathwayt began to be an important person in the colonial service. His official relations with the colonies were enlarged by long service as the first incumbent of the office of auditor-general of royal revenues in America, created in 1680.⁵⁹ But it was especially after 1685, when the secretaries of state no longer play an active part in colonial administration, that Blathwayt became a prominent figure. Williamson, Coventry, and Jenkins, of the industrious administrative type, were followed by Sunderland, Shrewsbury, and Nottingham, whose attention to the colonies was overshadowed by the feverish politics peculiar to the decade after 1685. They came into office with less experience and they attended the plantation committee with much less regularity.⁶⁰ Colonial governors continued to recognize the authority of one or other of the principal secretaries,⁶¹ but a perfunctory and briefer correspondence marked the waning influence of the office. As one governor said, "I have written to the Lords of Trade and Mr. Blathwayt that I shall be brief."⁶² Blathwayt thus became, in fact if not in name, colonial under-secretary. He was endowed with an ability fitted to routine administration. John Evelyn described him as "very dexterous in business" and as one who had "raised himself by his industry from very moderate circumstances". William III., speaking from a close observation of him as secretary-at-war, said he was "dull, though hee had a good method".⁶³ Blathwayt applied himself with vigor and persistence to his duties as under-secretary and as auditor-general. He is to be counted in that group of minor officials whose length of service, knowledge, and strict attention to business brought consistency of practice and efficiency into a system which subjected the holders of high office to the distractions and changing fortunes of politics.

The belief was current in the colonies that ministers at home were either too busy with other matters to give heed to the urgent

53. In 1674 Blathwayt petitioned for the post of secretary of Jamaica, declaring himself qualified by his knowledge of the island. *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1669-1674, § 1205.

59 Andrews, *Guide*, II. 142-147; Beer, *Old Col. System*, pt. I., vol. I., p. 220.

60 Sunderland, Shrewsbury, and Nottingham, as secretaries, each attended from forty-five to fifty per cent. of the sessions of the Lords of Trade.

61 *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1677-1680, §§ 1443, 1466; 1681-1685, §§ 281, 1829, 1882; 1689-1692, § 1584.

62 *Ibid.*, 1681-1685, §§ 187, 669; 1685-1688, § 576; 1689-1692, § 2552; 1693-1696, §§ 499, 831.

63 Evelyn, *Diary*, June 18, 1687; Foxcroft, *Life and Letters of Halifax*, II. 81, 226. For Blathwayt's work as secretary-at-war, see Andrews, *Guide*, II. 270-271.

needs of distant communities or else were little disposed to be bothered with the tedious reports on colonial conditions.⁶⁴ Above all it was felt that their ignorance of the unrelated life of the colonies rendered them unfit to pass judgment on American affairs.⁶⁵ Indeed it was this situation that led the colonies to appoint their own agents, at first temporary and in time permanent, to act as vehicles of sound information and advice on matters involving the interests or the privileges of the particular colony.⁶⁶ Belief and action were justified. The members of the plantation committee, not only occupied with the many problems and aspects of colonies and commerce, but as privy councillors engrossed in immediate local and foreign issues, and as Englishmen largely ignorant of the genius of colonial existence, were perforce dependent upon the Board of Customs and Blathwayt as skilled, reliable, and informed servants. Blathwayt's influence at home and in the colonies was always an important factor. Colonies without London agents besought him to present their petitions to the king and occasionally employed and paid him to attend to special matters.⁶⁷ Colonial governors wrote to him in letters of a semi-public nature, seeking his advice in their perplexities, his favor to procure and hasten needed orders, or his support on behalf of their official conduct.⁶⁸

The nature of conciliar organization calls for a brief discussion, that the course of imperial control after 1685 may be understood. As noted above, the unwieldy size of the council and the pressure of added business destroyed its efficiency as a collective body and called the committee system into use. In practice, before 1675, responsibility was secured by creating committees of limited number and select personnel and by appointing the ablest and most dependable councillors to two or more divisions. The result was

⁶⁴ "I know ministers and statesmen so hate impertinence and tedious letters, that I durst not address this to our Lords or Mr. Secretary. You can best garble it and lay . . . the needful before them", so wrote Governor Lynch of Jamaica to Blathwayt in 1683. *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1681-1685, pp. 395-396.

⁶⁵ Lynch, and Vaughan his successor, declared to the home government that it was not qualified to pass proper judgment on the concerns of remote and strange provinces. *Ibid.*, 1669-1674, § 1130; 1675-1676, §§ 801, 802.

⁶⁶ Dongan, governor of New York, in 1688 wrote in complaint of the little attention paid to the defenseless state of the colony, saying, "it is the misfortune of this Government that it cannot keep a solicitor at Court like other Colonies". *Ibid.*, 1685-1688, § 1638, p. 499.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 1685-1688, § 369; 1689-1692, §§ 2199, 2200, 2202, 2204; 1693-1696, §§ 1833, 1863, 2091.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 1677-1680, §§ 565, 603; 1681-1685, § 1348; 1685-1688, §§ 315, 1340; 1693-1696, §§ 84, 500; Goodrick, *Edward Randolph* (Prince Soc. Pubs.), VI. 16, 146, 161, 162, *passim*. See Kimball, *Public Life of Joseph Dudley*, pp. 57-59.

to throw the labors of the council upon an active inner group.⁶⁹ But after 1675 the committee system was altered.⁷⁰ The naming of certain persons to the plantation committee did not at all signify a select and definite membership. The records plainly show that any member of the council was free to attend and take part and that there were very few of a numerous body who did not come to one session at least. This procedure became general and it meant that the whole council had become the one standing committee for all purposes.⁷¹ In 1688 James II. ordered the whole council to be a standing committee for plantations, and in 1694 William III. directed that "Upon summoning Committees all the Lords of the Councill are to have notice".⁷² Substitution of the cumbrous whole for its parts seemed to restore the council to its older position of dignity and to silence the repeated charge of government by a secret inner ring, but it detracted from the unity and accountability inherent in small select groups. The quorum of the committee, at first fixed at five, was soon reduced to three to expedite business, and for twenty years the average attendance per session was about six, occasionally running to ten, or even fifteen at one time.⁷³ There was not merely the danger of an erratic attendance and a fluctuating complexion of opinion from day to day, when everybody's business was likely to be nobody's,⁷⁴ but also the danger that, if there were but one committee of the whole council for all purposes, its time and thought would be absorbed by the most striking and exigent needs to the neglect of other matters. Although these imperfections existed, they worked no great injury to the force and leadership in imperial control prior

⁶⁹ The committee system has been carefully and ably explained by Turner, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XVIII. 751 (1913); XIX. 27 (1913); XIX. 772 (1914); and Andrews, *ibid.*, XVI. 119-121 (1910). Also in the *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, by Carlyle, XXI. 673 (1906); Temperley, XXVII. 682 (1912); and Anson, XXIX. 56 (1914).

⁷⁰ In 1675 twenty-one were appointed a plantation committee and others were added from time to time. The usual size of committees was thus increased, but part of the older order was kept, as described above, by naming an inner group to have special charge by reason of their experience. In 1679 twenty-two were appointed with no reference to an inner circle. L. T. J., III. 1-2, 81, 122, 216; *A. P. C., Col.*, I. 620, 703, 819; *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1677-1680, § 977.

⁷¹ Turner, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XVIII. 758-762; Andrews, *ibid.*, XVI. 119-121.

⁷² L. T. J., VI. 1-3, 123-124; VII. 307; *A. P. C., Col.*, vol. II., § 249; *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1685-1688, § 1607.

⁷³ L. T. J., II. 5; *A. P. C., Col.*, I. 620. The attendance ranged from ten to fifteen inclusive at 92 sessions, six to nine at 420, and two to five at 338, of the total number of sittings 1675-1696.

⁷⁴ For instance, Sir John Ernle was the only person common to the successive sittings of July 9, 26, 1677; Craven the one common attendant at the successive meetings of August 9, 30, and again December 18, 20, 1677.

to 1685. This was due to a condition of domestic and foreign peace which permitted that small number deeply interested in the progress of imperial measures to act with the vigor and unity of an independent department.

The reversal of these conditioning factors in the decade after 1685 threw into bold relief the potential faults of conciliar organization and control. When James II. violated the deepest traditions and instincts of the people he involved the council in a storm of disorder that destroyed the progress toward imperial coherence. The average of fifty sessions a year for the plantation committee under Charles II. fell to the mean number of twenty under James, and in the shadows of impending revolt the committee almost ceased to gather.⁷⁵ The Revolution was imperial in sweep, overturning royal absolutism at home and inciting to successful revolt against narrow executive rule in New England, New York, and Maryland.⁷⁶ The committee of the whole council under William III. faced not only the immediate and delicate tasks of restoring injured political balances at home, but of preparing instruments of government for the many colonies as a result of the changes.⁷⁷ In addition and in the midst of temporary confusion, peace abroad was shattered by the impact of a wide conflict with France for supremacy in Europe and in the colonial world. The committee was burdened with the heavy cares of protecting a rich and varied commerce along many ocean highways and of numerous colonies stretching from Newfoundland to the Leeward Islands. The problems of imperial defense, of a breadth and import without precedent, were assumed under the heavy odds of a singular state of unpreparedness in the sinews of war, organization, and experience. The central administrative system was a cumbersome structure, the result of a multiple division of functions, fraught with overlapping authority and consequent friction, extremely unfitted to grapple with the realities of a world war.⁷⁸

In this situation the Lords of Trade were forced to act as a single, integrating, and energizing force. But the plantation committee met neither with a frequency nor a regularity sufficient to

⁷⁵ During the eleven months, March 1, 1688–February 1, 1689, ten sessions in all were held, and none during five months of the period.

⁷⁶ Osgood, *Am. Cols.*, III. 415–422, 444–463, 477–500.

⁷⁷ William III. appointed a plantation committee of twelve on February 16, 1689, adding others subsequently. *L. T. J.*, VI. 195–196, 295; *A. P. C., Col.*, vol. II., § 275; *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1689–1692, § 17.

⁷⁸ Andrews, *Guide*, II. 1–5, 136–142, 270–274; Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, I. 308–329, 381–393.

give an adequate protection to colonies and commerce. It averaged forty sessions a year during 1689-1696, a record below that of 1675-1685, yet the demands were far greater. The sittings ranged from twenty-six to fifty-five a year; they were held at the irregular intervals of from one to six a month, sometimes more and occasionally none. This was not altogether due to indifference; the committee of the whole council worked hard, but the scope of its undifferentiated business overtaxed its capacities. It has been said that William of Holland borrowed England on his way to Versailles. Be this as it may, the immediate necessity of restoring order at home and redressing the balance of power in Europe so occupied the committee that commerce and colonies inevitably suffered from inadequate attention.⁷⁹ What measure of defense they did receive was due in no small degree to the ceaseless activity of the merchants and colonial agents in pleading and urging their claims and dangers.⁸⁰

No less serious was the break in the line of competent personnel and the loss of cohesion in the plantation committee. There appeared around the plantation board after 1685 few of the older group that had been actively engaged in the work of expansion and had given momentum to imperial political centralization. Death had taken Anglesey, Bridgewater, Carteret, Downing, Francis North, Radnor, and Rupert. The attentive Craven ceased to come. But it was an unwise king who soon removed the active and skilled Clarendon, Compton, Halifax, and Rochester to make way for the crafty, time-serving Earl of Sunderland, the brutal Jeffreys, and others whose servility to an arbitrary domestic policy was of greater moment than the advancement of the best interests of the empire.⁸¹ As in the time of George III., so in that of James II., the advent of a ruler and personal advisers of narrow vision and small experience in the statesmanship of empire provoked relations which the colonies refused to endure. Again, it was natural for William III. to draw his ministers and officials from the supporters of the Revo-

⁷⁹ A memorialist declared that if the war so employed every agency of government that the concerns of trade were neglected, if the ministry "is taken up with higher Business", it became the wisdom of Parliament to make timely provision for the protection of commerce. Br. Mus., Harleian MSS. 1223, no. 9, ff. 184-188.

⁸⁰ For the activities of the colonial agents, see *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1689-1692, 1693-1696, *passim*.

⁸¹ Evelyn, *Diary*, September 8, 1686; Burnet, *Hist. of his Own Time* (1857), pp. 419, 434, 436; Foxcroft, *Halifax*, I. 451 ff. The chief members of the plantation committee under James II. were Sunderland, Jeffreys, Middleton, Godolphin, Powis, Huntingdon.

lution and not from the adherents of the old order. With the exception of Halifax for a short period, the work fell upon new councillors who had little of that interest and training in matters imperial so distinctive of the advisers of Charles II. Division in the councils of the king was the outcome of William's first policy, like that of Washington a century later, of seeking support from all factions temporarily united by the Revolution. It was a policy destined to fail; once the crisis was passed, Whig and Tory, like Federalist and Republican, became too jealous to co-operate. Halifax, lord privy seal, and Carmarthen, lord president, were at odds, Shrewsbury and Nottingham, secretaries, tried to persuade the king to different courses, and Nottingham and Admiral Russell quarrelled over the direction of the fleet.⁸²

Unity was not attained until the king recognized the utility of party support, but in the meantime administration was crippled by faction and by frequent changes in personnel. The fluctuating membership in the council was reflected in the changing personnel of the plantation committee of the whole council. This fault of instability became a striking and serious condition after 1689, when defense loudly demanded cohesion and constancy of power. Some indication of the violent fluctuations in the plantation committee at this time may be gathered from the fact that fifty-nine different councillors attended its meetings at very irregular intervals and uncertain times. Those present at one sitting were likely to be absent or in the minority at the next. A small degree of continuity and balance was lent to the working of the committee during 1689-1696 by the fairly regular attendance of Carmarthen, Sir Henry Goodricke, lieutenant-general of ordnance, Hugh Boscawen, one of the admiralty board, and John Egerton, third earl of Bridgewater.⁸³ Incompetence, factionalism, and change worked their weakening effects throughout the executive government, from the council to the departments and offices of administration.

Colonial protection was poor enough, but commerce on the high seas suffered disastrously.⁸⁴ Large and constant were the

⁸² Burnet, *Hist. Own Time*, pp. 550-551, 580, 585; Evelyn, *Diary*, January 3, February 4, November 12, 1693; Foxcroft, *Halifax*, vol. II., ch. XII.

⁸³ Under James II., out of thirty-four different councillors who attended the plantation committee, only three were present at more than fifty per cent. of the total number of meetings. Under William III., forty-nine attended with records varying from two to fifty sessions, six from fifty to ninety sessions; while Goodricke was present at seventy-two per cent. of the total sessions, Carmarthen sixty per cent., Bridgewater forty per cent., and Boscawen thirty-six.

⁸⁴ *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1689-1692, pp. xxvii-xxxvi; 1693-1696, pp. viii-xii, xxix-xliv, for a résumé of colonial protection.

losses of ships and cargoes by capture and destruction because of the inadequacy of the navy and the incompetency of administration.⁸⁵ Oversea trade fell off to the advantage of foreign merchants because of the want of convoy protection.⁸⁶ Merchants risked their vessels and goods without protection rather than to wait upon deficient and delayed convoys, only to increase the chances of capture.⁸⁷ The losses of 1695-1696 were especially severe and dissatisfaction reached a white heat.⁸⁸ The merchants, stung to anger by their own losses as well as by the injuries done to the vital interests of a mercantile nation, were convinced that these evils were the fruits of unskilled and defective administration.

Various remedies were proposed. One looked to strengthening the plantation committee, which directed the convoy service in conjunction with the admiralty and customs boards.⁸⁹ The Earl of Mulgrave in 1694 urged the king to revert to a "select number for all Committees, instead of all the Councell, as it now is; because everybody's business is nobody's, whereas the other way such will be charged with it who are capable of attending and understanding it". He proposed specifically a plantation committee of select and knowing personnel, in which regular attendance should be required and regular meetings should be held "two mornings in a week on fixed dayes, and not according to the leasure or humour of a President of the Councell".⁹⁰ Merited as were these criticisms and proposals, they did not conform to the wishes of the merchants. Now, as before under like conditions in the time of Cromwell, they expressed a brusque impatience with the lack of skill, efficiency, and despatch in the care of transmarine interests. They moved for a reversion to a special board of experts. The creation of a "Council of Trade" was "the Common Theam of Men of all Understandings, on which so much is said and writ", declared Sir Francis Brewster in 1695 in support of the idea. The Bristol merchants earnestly hoped that the "Places be not fill'd up with Courtiers, who know nothing of the Business". John Evelyn voiced the general desire that the proposed board be composed of "sober, industrious, dexterous men, and of consummate experience *in rebus agendis*".⁹¹

⁸⁵ Burnet, *Hist. Own Time*, pp. 555, 570, 592-593, 599, 616-617.

⁸⁶ L. T. J., VI. 347; VII. 14, 118, 120-121.

⁸⁷ *House of Lords MSS.*, n. s. (1695-1697), II. viii.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, II. vii-xii, 64-117.

⁸⁹ L. T. J., VI. 329-336, 340-350; VII., *passim*; *A. P. C., Col.*, vol. II., §§ 369, 379, 385, *passim*.

⁹⁰ Turner, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XVIII. 759, note.

⁹¹ Brewster, *Essays on Trade* (London, 1695), pp. 37-40; Cary, *Essay on State of England in Relation to Trade* (Bristol, 1695), pp. 139-141; Evelyn,

The incapacities of imperial administration were keenly discussed within and without the doors of Parliament. There was hardly a session of the legislature in which the miscarriages of the navy and the losses of the merchants were not the subjects of loud complaint.⁹² The House of Commons, smarting under the severe injuries to the economic and maritime interests of the nation and incited to action by the influence of the merchants, closely examined into the whole matter, and, as Bishop Burnet records, "when all the errors, with relation to the protection of our trade, were set out and much aggravated, a motion was made to create by act of parliament, a council of trade".⁹³ On December 12, 1695, the very day on which this decision was reached, the king countered it by announcing his purpose to establish by royal authority a council composed of "some of the Greatest Quality, and others of Lesser Rank, and acquainted with trade".⁹⁴ Thus was the constitutional issue joined. The attempt of the Commons to erect a council, not only drawn from the legislature but clothed by it with powers of administration, raised the significant question, "how far the government should continue on its ancient bottom of monarchy, as to the executive part, or how far it should turn to a commonwealth".⁹⁵ Embraced in the movement were the efforts of the unprivileged merchants, persisting through many years, to break down the political and commercial dominance of the monopolistic London companies in favor of a more open trade and free ports. Bristol and the outports, unconcerned by what authority a council was established, royal or parliamentary, worked to secure one so modelled that it should be representative and non-partizan as well as expert.⁹⁶

Diary (ed. Bray), III. 355-356; Davenant, *Discourses on the Publick Revenues and on the Trade of England* (London, 1698), II. 126-135; "Memoriall concerning a Council of Trade", Br. Mus., Harleian MSS. 1223, no. 9, ff. 184-188; Letters of the merchants of Bristol to the city's representatives in the Commons, Br. Mus., Add. MSS. 5540, ff. 83-96.

⁹² *House of Lords MSS.*, n. s. (1693-1695), I. i-xix.

⁹³ *House of Commons Journal*, XI. 359, 376, 398; *House of Lords Journal*, XV. 606, 608-609, 611-612; Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, III. 560-561; Burnet, *Hist. Own Time*, p. 621.

⁹⁴ "Heads of his Majesty's commission for a Council of Trade", 1696, Br. Mus., Add. MSS. 9764, f. 101; Fox Bourne, *Life of John Locke*, II. 348; Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, III. 562; Bristol representatives to merchants, December 19, 1695, Add. MSS. 5540; *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1693-1696, § 2207.

⁹⁵ Cobbett, *Parl. Hist.*, V. 977; *Commons Journ.*, XI. 423-424, 440, 454; Luttrell, *Brief Hist. Rel.*, III. 568; IV. 7, 19; Burnet, *Hist. Own Time*, p. 621.

⁹⁶ The Bristol merchants declared that if the proposed council of trade "be made up of Courtiers unexperienced in Trade, twill become only a matter of charge to the Nation; if of Londoners, They will endeavour to overrule things so as they shall best conduce to bringing all Trade to that great City, without

William III., jealous of the traditional prerogatives of the crown and anxious to thwart a step fraught with serious portent to their integrity, was driven to set up a Board of Trade and Plantations by commission of May 15, 1696. This step marks the close of the constant activities of the Lords of Trade as the directors of trade and plantation affairs and a return, in almost exact lines of organization, functions, and position, to the select council abolished in 1674. The Board of Trade lived through a varied experience of nearly ninety years.⁹⁷ It was not however till 1768 that American affairs were finally differentiated from foreign and domestic relations and entrusted to the care of a separate department of state. But the recognition of the peculiar importance and character of colonial interests came too late to be of any advantage.

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respect to other Ports"; it was urged that the body be composed of "Men well versed" in trade, chosen from "all the parts thereof, as well the countys, as some particular Trading Citys and ports". Add. MSS. 5540, December 16, 1695; Andrews, *Brit. Comm.*, p. 113.

⁹⁷ Dickerson, *Am. Colonial Govt.*, pp. 20-22.

THE MISSION AS A FRONTIER INSTITUTION IN THE SPANISH-AMERICAN COLONIES

OF the missions in Spanish America, particularly those in California, much has been written. But most of what has been produced consists of chronicles of the deeds of the Fathers, polemic discussions by sectarian partizans, or sentimental effusions with literary, edifying, or financial intent. They deal with the heroic exploits of individuals, with mooted questions of belief and practice, or with the romance that hovers round the mission ruins. All this is very well, and not to be ridiculed, but it is none the less true that little has been said of these missions in their relation to the general Spanish colonial policy, of which they were an integral and a most important part. Father Engelhardt's learned books are a notable exception, but his view is confined closely to California, whereas the mission, in the Spanish colonies, was an almost universal establishment.

One of the marvels in the history of the modern world is the way in which that little Iberian nation, Spain, when most of her blood and treasure were absorbed in European wars, with a handful of men took possession of the Caribbean archipelago, and by rapid yet steady advance spread her culture, her religion, her law, and her language over more than half of the two American continents, where they still are dominant and still are secure—in South America, Central America, and a large fraction of North America, for fifty million people in America to-day are tinged with Spanish blood, still speak the Spanish language, still worship at the altar set up by the Catholic kings, still live under laws essentially Spanish, and still possess a culture largely inherited from Spain.

These results are an index of the vigor and the virility of Spain's frontier forces; they should give pause to those who glibly speak of Spain's failure as a colonizing nation; and they suggest the importance of a thoughtful study of Spain's frontier institutions and methods. Professor Turner has devoted his life to a study of the Anglo-American frontier, and rich has been his reward. Scarcely less conspicuous in the history of the Western world than the advance of the Anglo-American frontier has been the spread of Spanish culture, and for him who interprets, with Turner's insight, the methods

and the significance of the Spanish-American frontier, there awaits a recognition not less marked or less deserved.

Whoever essays this task, whoever undertakes to interpret the forces by which Spain extended her rule, her language, her law, and her traditions, over the frontiers of her vast American possessions, must give close attention to the missions, for in that work they constituted a primary agency. Each of the colonizing nations in America had its peculiar frontier institutions and classes. In the French colonies the pioneers of pioneers were the fur-trader and the missionary. Penetrating the innermost wilds of the continent, one in search of the beaver, the other in quest of souls to save, together they extended the French domains, and brought the savage tribes into friendly relations with the French government, and into profitable relations with the French outposts. In the English colonies the fur-trader blazed the way and opened new trails, but it was the backwoods settler who hewed down the forest, and step by step drove back the Indian with whom he did not readily mingle. In the Spanish colonies the men to whom fell the task of extending and holding the frontiers were the *conquistador*, the presidial soldier, and the missionary.

All of these agents were important; but in my study of frontier institutions in general, and in my endeavor in particular to understand the methods and forces by which Spain's frontiers were extended, held, and developed, I have been more and more impressed with the importance of the mission as a pioneering agency. Taking for granted for the moment its very obvious religious aspects, I shall here devote my attention more especially to the mission's political and social meaning. My point of view embraces all of New Spain—all of the Spanish colonies, indeed—but more particularly the northern provinces, from Sinaloa to Texas, from Florida to California. My conclusions are based on the study of documents, unprinted for the most part, which have been gathered mainly from the archives of Mexico and Spain.

The functions of the mission, from the political standpoint, will be better understood if it is considered in its historical relations. The central interest around which the mission was built was the Indian. In respect to the native, the Spanish sovereigns, from the outset, had three fundamental purposes. They desired to convert him, to civilize him, and to exploit him. To serve these three purposes, there was devised, out of the experience of the early conquerors, the *encomienda* system. It was soon found that if the savage were to be converted, or disciplined, or exploited, he must

be put under control. To provide such control, the land and the people were distributed among Spaniards, who held them in trust, or in *encomienda*. The trustee, or *encomendero*, as he was called, was strictly charged by the sovereign, as a condition of his grant, to provide for the protection, the conversion, and the civilization of the aborigines. In return he was empowered to exploit their labor, sharing the profits with the king. To provide the spiritual instruction and to conduct schools for the natives—for Indian schools were actually prescribed and maintained—the *encomenderos* were required to support the necessary friars, by whom the instruction was given. Thus great monasteries were established in the conquered districts.

But the native had his own notions, especially about being exploited, and he sometimes fled to the woods. It was soon discovered, therefore, that in order properly to convert, instruct, and exploit the Indian, he must be kept in a fixed place of residence. This need was early reported to the sovereigns by *encomenderos* and friars alike, and it soon became a law that Indians must be congregated in pueblos, and made to stay there, by force if necessary. The pueblos were modelled on the Spanish towns, and were designed not alone as a means of control, but as schools in self-control as well.

Thus, during the early years of the conquest, the natives were largely in the hands of the *encomenderos*, mainly secular landholders. The friars, and afterward the Jesuit priests, came in great numbers, to preach and teach, but they lacked the authority of later days. In 1574 there were in the conquered districts of Spanish America nearly nine thousand Indian towns, containing about one and a half million adult males, representing some five million people, subject to tribute. These nine thousand towns were *encomiendas* of the king and some four thousand *encomenderos*.

The *encomienda* system then, by intention, was benevolent. It was designed for the conversion and the civilization of the native, as well as for the exploitation of his labor. But the flesh is weak, and the system was abused. The obligations to protect, convert, and civilize were forgotten, and the right to exploit was perverted into license. Practical slavery soon resulted, and the *encomienda* system became the black spot in the Spanish-American code. Philanthropists, led by Las Casas, begged for reform; abuses were checked, and *encomiendas* were gradually, though slowly, abolished.

This improvement was made easier by the decreasing attractiveness of *encomiendas*, as the conquest proceeded to the outlying dis-

tribes. The semi-civilized Indians of central Mexico and Peru had been fairly docile, had had a steady food supply and fixed homes, were accustomed to labor, and were worth exploiting. The wilder tribes encountered later—the Chichimecos, as they were called—were hostile, had few crops, were unused to labor, had no fixed villages, would not stand still to be exploited, and were hardly worth the candle. Colonists were no longer so eager for *encomiendas*, and were willing to escape the obligation to protect and civilize the wild tribes, which were as uncomfortable burdens, sometimes, as cub-tigers in a sack. Moreover, the sovereigns, with increasing emphasis, forbade the old-time abuses of exploitation, but as strongly as before adhered to the ideal of conversion and civilization. Here, then, was a larger opening for the missionary, and to him was entrusted, or upon him was thrust, consciously or unconsciously, not only the old work of conversion, but a larger and larger element of responsibility and control. On the northern frontier, therefore, among the roving tribes, the place of the discredited *encomendero* was largely taken by the missionary, and that of the *encomienda* by the mission, the design being to check the evils of exploitation, and at the same time to realize the ideal of conversion, protection, and civilization.

These missionaries became a veritable corps of Indian agents, serving both Church and State. The double capacity in which they served was made easier and more natural by the close union between Church and State in Spanish America, where the king exercised the *real patronato*, and where the viceroys were sometimes archbishops as well.

Under these conditions, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, on the expanding frontiers of Spanish America, missions became well-nigh universal. In South America the outstanding examples were the Jesuit missions in Paraguay. Conspicuous in North America were the great Franciscan establishments in Alta California, the last of Spain's conquests. Not here alone, however, but everywhere on the northern frontier they played their part—in Sinaloa, Sonora, and Lower California; in Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo León, and Nuevo Santander; in Florida, New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona. If there were twenty-one missions in California, there were as many in Texas, more in Florida, and twice as many in New Mexico. At one time the California missions had over thirty thousand Indians under instruction; but a century and a half earlier the missions of Florida and New Mexico each had an equal number.

The missionary work on the northern frontier of New Spain was conducted chiefly by Franciscans, Jesuits, and Dominicans. The northeastern field fell chiefly to the Franciscans, who entered Coahuila, Nuevo León, Nuevo Santander, New Mexico, Texas, and Florida. To the Northwest came the Jesuits, who, after withdrawing from Florida, worked especially in Sinaloa, Sonora, Chihuahua, Lower California, and Arizona. In 1767 the Jesuits were expelled from all Spanish America, and their places taken by the other orders. To Lower California came the Dominicans, to Alta California the Franciscans of the College of San Fernando, in the City of Mexico.

The missions, then, like the presidios, or garrisons, were characteristically and designedly frontier institutions, and it is as pioneer agencies that they must be studied. This is true whether they be considered from the religious, the political, or the social standpoint. As religious institutions they were designed to introduce the Faith among the heathen. Having done this, their function was to cease. Being designed for the frontier, they were intended to be temporary. As soon as his work was finished on one frontier, the missionary was expected to move on to another. In the theory of the law, within ten years each mission must be turned over to the secular clergy, and the common mission lands distributed among the Indians. But this law had been based on experience with the more advanced tribes of Mexico, Central America, and Peru. On the northern frontier, among the barbarian tribes, a longer period of tutelage was always found necessary.

The result, almost without fail, was a struggle over secularization, such as occurred in California. So long as the Indians were under the missionaries, their lands were secure from the land-grabber. The land-grabber always, therefore, urged the fulfillment of the ten-year law, just as the "squatters", the "sooners", and the "boomers" have always urged the opening of our Indian reservations. But the missionaries always knew the danger, and they always resisted secularization until their work was finished. Sooner or later, however, with the disappearance of frontier conditions, the missionary was expected to move on. His religious task was beside the soldier, *entre infieles*, in the outposts of civilization.

But the missionaries were not alone religious agents. Designedly in part, and incidentally in part, they were political and civilizing agents of a very positive sort, and as such they constituted a vital feature of Spain's pioneering system. From the standpoint of the Church, and as viewed by themselves, their principal work

was to spread the Faith, first, last, and always. To doubt this is to confess complete and disqualifying ignorance of the great mass of existing missionary correspondence, printed and unprinted, so fraught with unmistakable proofs of the religious zeal and devotion of the vast majority of the missionaries. It is quite true, as Engelhardt says, that they "came not as scientists, as geographers, as school-masters, nor as philanthropists, eager to uplift the people in a worldly sense, to the exclusion or neglect of the religious duties pointed out by Christ". But it is equally true, and greatly to their credit, that, incidentally from their own standpoint and designedly from that of the government, they were all these and more, and that to all these and other services they frequently and justly made claim, when they asked for government aid.

The missions, then, were agencies of the State as well as of the Church. They served not alone to Christianize the frontier, but also to aid in extending, holding, and civilizing it. Since Christianity was the basic element of European civilization, and since it was the acknowledged duty of the State to extend the Faith, the first task of the missionary, from the standpoint of both State and Church, was to convert the heathen. But neither the State nor the Church—nor the missionary himself—in Spanish dominions, considered the work of the mission as ending here. If the Indian were to become either a worthy Christian or a desirable subject, he must be disciplined in the rudiments of civilized life. The task of giving the discipline was likewise turned over to the missionary. Hence, the missions were designed to be not only Christian seminaries, but in addition were outposts for the control and training schools for the civilizing of the frontier.

Since they served the State, the missions were supported by the State. It is a patent fact, and scarcely needs demonstrating, that they were maintained to a very considerable extent by the royal treasury. The Franciscan missions of New Spain in the eighteenth century had four principal means of support. The annual stipends of the missionaries (the *sinodos*) were usually paid by the government. These *sinodos* varied in amount according to the remoteness of the missions, and on the northernmost frontier were usually \$450 for each missionary. In 1758, for example, the treasury of New Spain was annually paying *sinodos* for twelve Querétaran friars in Coahuila and Texas, six Jaliscans in Coahuila, eleven Zacatecans in Texas, ten Fernandinos in the Sierra Gorda, six Jaliscans in Nayarit, twenty-two Zacatecans in Nuevo León and Nueva Vizcaya, seventeen Zacatecans in Nuevo Santander, five

San Diegans in Sierra Gorda, and thirty-four friars of the Provincia del Santo Evangelio in New Mexico, or, in all, 123 friars, at an average of about 350 *pesos* each. This report did not include the Provincia de Campeche or the Yslas de Barlovento, for which separate reports had been asked. Other appropriations were made for missionaries in the Marianas and the Philippine Islands, dependencies of New Spain.

Besides the *sínodos*, the government regularly furnished the missionaries with military protection, by detaching from the near-by presidios from two to half a dozen or more soldiers for each mission. In addition, the royal treasury usually made an initial grant (*ayuda de costa*) of \$1000 to each mission, to pay for bells, vestments, tools, and other expenses of the founding, and in cases of emergency it frequently made special grants for building or other purposes.

These government subsidies did not preclude private gifts, or alms, which were often sought and secured. In the founding of new missions the older establishments were expected to give aid, and if able they did respond in liberal measure. And then there were endowments. The classic examples of private endowments on the northern frontier were the gifts of Don Pedro de Terreros, later Conde de Regla, who offered \$150,000 to found Apache missions in Coahuila and Texas, and the Jesuit Fondo Piadoso, or Pious Fund, of California. This latter fund, begun in 1697, grew by a variety of gifts to such an amount that the missions of Lower California were largely supported by the increase alone. With the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 the fund was taken over by the government, and became the principal means of support of the new Franciscan missions of Alta California, besides being devoted in part to secular purposes. Even in Alta California, however, the royal treasury paid the wages (*sueldos*) of the mission guards, and gave other financial aid.

Finally, the Indians of the missions were expected soon to become self-supporting, and, indeed, in many cases they did acquire large wealth through stock-raising and agricultural pursuits. But not a penny of this belonged to the missionaries, and the annual *sínodos*, or salaries, continued to be paid from other sources, from the Pious Fund in California, and from the royal treasury generally elsewhere.

While it is thus true that the missions were supported to a very considerable degree by the royal treasury, it is just as plain that the amount of government aid, and the ease with which it was secured,

depended largely upon the extent to which political ends could be combined with religious purposes.

The importance of political necessity in loosening the royal purse-strings is seen at every turn in the history of Spanish North America. Knowing the strength of a political appeal, the friars always made use of it in their requests for permission and aid. While the monarchs ever used pious phrases, and praised the work of the padres—without hypocrisy no doubt—the royal pocket-book was not readily opened to found new missions unless there was an important political as well as a religious object to be gained.

Striking examples of this fact are found in the histories of Texas and California. The missionaries of the northern frontier had long had their eyes on the "Kingdom of the Texas" as a promising field of labor, and had even appealed to the government for aid in cultivating it. But in vain, till La Salle planted a French colony at Matagorda Bay. Then the royal treasury was opened, and funds were provided for missions in eastern Texas. The French danger passed for the moment, and the missions were withdrawn. Then for another decade Father Hidalgo appealed in vain for funds and permission to re-establish the missions. But when St. Denis, agent of the French governor of Louisiana, intruded himself into Coahuila, the Spanish government at once gave liberal support for the refounding of the missions, to aid in restraining the French.

The case was the same for California. Since the time of Vizcáino the missionaries had clamored for aid and for permission to found missions at San Diego and Monterey. In 1620 Father Ascensión, who had been with Vizcáino eighteen years before, wrote, "I do not know what security His Majesty can have in his conscience for delaying so long to send ministers of the Gospel to this realm of California", and, during the next century and a half, a hundred others echoed this admonition. But all to no purpose till the Russian Bear began to amble or to threaten to amble down the Pacific Coast. Then money was forthcoming—partly from the confiscated Pious Fund, it is true—and then missionaries were sent to help hold the country for the crown. On this point Father Engelhardt correctly remarks:

The missionaries, who generally offered to undergo any hardships in order to convert the Indians, appear to have been enlisted merely for the purpose of securing the territory for the Spanish king . . . [and] the Spanish government would not have sent ships and troops to the northwest if the Russians had not crept down the Pacific coast. . . .

The men who presumed to guide the destinies of Spain then, and,

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as a rule ever since, cared not for the success of Religion or the welfare of its ministers except in so far as both could be used to promote political schemes.

In this last, I think, Father Engelhardt is too hard on the Spanish monarchs. Their pious professions were not pure hypocrisy. They were truly desirous of spreading the Faith. But they were terribly "hard up", and they had little means to support religious projects unless they served both political and religious ends.

The value of the missionaries as frontier agents was thus clearly recognized, and their services were thus consciously utilized by the government. In the first place, they were often the most useful of explorers and diplomatic agents. The unattended missionary could sometimes go unmolested, and without arousing suspicion and hostility, into districts where the soldier was not welcome, while by their education and their trained habits of thought they were the class best fitted to record what they saw and to report what should be done. For this reason they were often sent alone to explore new frontiers, or as peace emissaries to hostile tribes, or as chroniclers of expeditions led by others. Hence it is that the best of the diaries of early exploration in the Southwest—and, indeed, in most of America—were written by the missionaries.

As illustrations of this kind of frontier service on the part of the missionaries we have but to recall the example of Friar Marcos, who was sent by Viceroy Mendoza to seek the rumored "Seven Cities" in New Mexico; the rediscovery of that province, under the viceroy's patronage, by the party led by Fray Agustín Rodríguez; the expeditions of Father Larios, unattended, into Coahuila; the forty or more journeys of Father Kino across the deserts of Sonora, and his demonstration that California was a peninsula, not an island, as most men had thought; the part played by Kino in pacifying the revolt of the Pimas in 1695, and in making the frontier safe for settlers; the diplomatic errands of Fathers Calahorra and Ramírez, sent by the governors of Texas to the hostile northern tribes; the lone travels of Father Garcés, of two thousand miles or more, over the untrod trails, in Arizona, California, and New Mexico, seeking a better route to California; and the expedition of Fathers Domínguez and Escalante, pathfinders for an equal distance in and about the Great Basin between the Rockies and the Sierras.

The missions served also as a means of defense to the king's dominions. This explains why the government was more willing to support missions when the frontier needed defending than at other

times, as in the cases, already cited, of Texas and California. It is significant, too, in this connection, that the Real Hacienda, or Royal Fisc, charged the expenses for presidios and missions both to the same account, the Ramo de Guerra, or "War Fund". In a report for New Spain made in 1758 a treasury official casually remarked,

Presidios are erected and missions founded in *tierra firme* whenever it is necessary to defend conquered districts from the hostilities and invasions of warlike, barbarian tribes, and to plant and extend our Holy Faith, for which purposes *juntas de guerra y hacienda* are held.

It is indeed true that appropriations for missions were usually made and that permission to found missions was usually given in councils of war and finance.

The missionaries counteracted foreign influence among their neophytes, deterred them from molesting the interior settlements, and secured their aid in holding back more distant tribes. Nearly every army that was led from San Antonio, Texas, in the eighteenth century, against the hostile Apaches and Comanches, contained a strong contingent of mission Indians, who fought side by side with the Spaniards. Father Kino was relied upon by the military leaders of Sonora to obtain the aid of the Pimas, his beloved neophytes, in defense of the Sonora settlements. When he was assigned to California, in company with Salvatierra, the authorities of Sonora protested, on the ground that, through his influence over the natives, he was a better means of protection to the province than a whole company of soldiers. When a Spanish expedition was organized to attack the Apaches, Kino was sent ahead to arouse and enlist the Pima allies. When the Pimas put the Apaches to flight, it was Kino to whom they sent the count of the enemy's dead, recorded by notches on a pole; on the same occasion it was Kino who received the thanks of citizens and officials of the province; and, when doubt was expressed as to what the Pimas had accomplished, it was Kino who rode a hundred miles or more to count the scalps of the vanquished foe, as evidence with which to vindicate his Pima friends.

The very mission plants were even built and often served as fortresses, not alone for padres and neophytes, but for near-by settlers, too. Every well-built mission was ranged round a great court or patio, protected on all sides by the buildings, whose walls were sometimes eight feet thick. In hostile countries these buildings were themselves enclosed within massive protecting walls. In 1740 President Santa Ana wrote that Mission Valero, at San Antonio, Texas, was better able to withstand a siege than any

of the three presidios of the province. This of course was only a relative excellence. Twenty-two years later the same mission was surrounded by a wall, and over the gate was a tower, equipped with muskets, ammunition, and three cannon. At the same time the mission of San José (Texas) was called "a castle" which more than once had been proof against the Apaches.

Not only were the missionaries consciously utilized as political agents to hold the frontier but they often served, on their own motion, or with the co-operation of the secular authority, as "promoters" of the unoccupied districts. They sent home reports of the outlying tribes, of the advantages of obtaining their friendship, of the danger of foreign incursions, of the wealth and attractions of the country, and of the opportunities to extend the king's dominion. Frequently, indeed, they were called to Mexico, or even to Spain, to sit in the royal councils, where their expert opinions often furnished the primary basis of a decision to occupy a new outpost. As examples of this, near at home, we have but to recall Escobar, Benavides, and Ayeta of New Mexico, Massanet, Hidalgo, and Santa Ana of Texas, Kino of Lower California, and Serra of Alta California. Thus consciously or unconsciously, directly or indirectly, with or without secular initiative, the missionaries served as most active promoters, one might even call them "boosters", of the frontier.

But the missionaries helped not only to extend and hold and promote the frontier; more significantly still, they helped to civilize it. And this is the keynote of my theme. Spain possessed high ideals, but she had peculiar difficulties to contend with. She laid claim to the lion's share of the two Americas, but her population was small and little of it could be spared to people the New World. On the other hand, her colonial policy, equalled in humanitarian principles by that of no other country, perhaps, looked to the preservation of the natives, and to their elevation to at least a limited citizenship. Lacking Spaniards to colonize the frontier, she would colonize it with the aborigines. Such an ideal called not only for the subjugation and control of the natives, but for their civilization as well. To bring this end about the rulers of Spain again made use of the religious and humanitarian zeal of the missionaries, choosing them to be to the Indians not only preachers, but also teachers and disciplinarians. To the extent that this work succeeded it became possible to people the frontier with civilized natives, and thus to supply the lack of colonists. This desire was quite in harmony with the religious aims of the friars, who found temporal discipline indispensable to the best work of Christianization.

Hence it is that in the Spanish system—as distinguished from the French, for example—the essence of the mission was the *discipline*, religious, moral, social, and industrial, which it afforded. The very physical arrangement of the mission was determined with a view to discipline. The central feature of every successful mission was the Indian village, or pueblo. The settled tribes, such as the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, or the Pimas of Arizona, could be instructed in their native towns, but wandering and scattered tribes must be assembled and established in pueblos, and kept there, by force if necessary. The reason why the missions of eastern Texas failed was that the Indians refused to settle in pueblos, and without more soldiers than were available it was impossible to control them. It was on this question that Father Serra split with Governor Neve regarding the Santa Barbara Indians in California. To save expense for soldiers, Neve urged that the friars should minister to the Indians in their native rancherías. But the missionaries protested that by this arrangement the Indians could not be disciplined. The plan was given up therefore, and instead the Indians were congregated in great pueblos at San Buenaventura and Santa Barbara. Thus, the pueblo was essential to the mission, as it had been to the *encomienda*.

Discipline called for control, and this was placed largely in the hands of the missionaries. The rule was two friars for each mission, but in many instances there was only one. The need of more was often urged.

As a symbol of force, and to afford protection for missionaries and mission Indians, as well as to hold the frontier against savages and foreigners, presidios, or garrisons, were established near by. And thus, across the continent, from San Agustín to San Francisco, stretched a long and slender line of presidios—San Agustín, Apalache, Pensacola, Los Adaes, La Bahía, San Antonio, San Juan Bautista, Rio Grande, San Sabá, El Paso, Santa Fé, Janos, Fronteras, Terrenate, Tubac, Altár, San Diego, Santa Barbara, Monterey, and San Francisco—a line more than twice as long as the Rhine-Danube frontier held by the Romans, from whom Spain learned her lesson in frontier defense.

To assist the missionaries in their work of disciplining and instructing the neophytes, each mission was usually provided with two or more soldiers from the nearest presidio. To help in recovering runaways—for the Indians frequently did abscond—special detachments of soldiers were furnished. The impression is often given that the missionaries objected to the presence of soldiers at the mis-

sions, but as a rule the case was quite the contrary. What they did object to was unsuitable soldiers, and outside interference in the selection and control of the guard. It is true, indeed, that immoral or insubordinate soldiers were deemed a nuisance, and that since the presidials were largely half-breeds—mestizoes or mulattoes—and often jailbirds at that, this type was all too common. But in general military aid was demanded, and complaint of its inadequacy was constantly made. On this point the testimony of Fray Romualdo Cartagena, guardian of the College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro, is valid. In a report made in 1772, still in manuscript, he wrote,

What gives these missions their permanency is the aid which they receive from the Catholic arms. Without them pueblos are frequently abandoned, and ministers are murdered by the barbarians. It is seen every day that in missions where there are no soldiers there is no success, for the Indians, being children of fear, are more strongly appealed to by the glistening of the sword than by the voice of five missionaries. Soldiers are necessary to defend the Indians from the enemy, and to keep an eye on the mission Indians, now to encourage them, now to carry news to the nearest presidio in case of trouble. For the spiritual and temporal progress of the missions two soldiers are needed, for the Indians cannot be trusted, especially in new conversions.

This is the testimony of missionaries themselves. That protection was indeed necessary is shown by the martyrdom of missionaries on nearly every frontier—of Father Segura and his entire band of Jesuits in Virginia in 1570; of Father Saeta in Sonora; of Fathers Ganzábal, Silva, Terreros, and Santiesteban in Texas; of Fathers Carranco and Tamaral in Lower California; of Father Luis Jayme at San Diego (Alta California); of Father Garcés and his three companions at Yuma, on the Colorado; and of the twenty-one Franciscans in the single uprising in New Mexico in 1680. But these martyrdoms were only occasional, and the principal business of the soldiers was to assist the missionaries in disciplining and civilizing the savages.

As teachers, and as an example to new converts, it was the custom to place in each new mission three Indian families from the older missions. After a time the families might return to their homes. As Father Romualdo remarked: "It is all the better if these families be related to the new, for this insures the permanence of the latter in the missions, while if they do flee it is easier to recover them by means of their relatives than through strangers."

Notable among the Indians utilized as teachers and colonists in the northern missions were the Tlascaltecs, of Tlascala, the native city of Mexico made famous by Prescott. Having been subdued

by Cortés, the Tlascaltecs became the most trusted supporters of the Spaniards, as they had been the most obstinate foes of the "Triple Alliance", and, after playing an important part in the conquest of the Valley of Mexico, they became a regular factor in the extension of Spanish rule over the north country. Thus, when San Luis Potosí had been conquered, colonies of Tlascaltecs were set to teach the more barbarous natives of that district both loyalty to the Spaniards and the elements of civilization. In Saltillo a large colony of Tlascaltecs was established by Urdiñola at the end of the sixteenth century, and became the mother colony from which numerous offshoots were planted at the new missions and villages further north. At one time a hundred families of Tlascaltecs were ordered sent to Pensacola; in 1755 they figured in the plans for a missionary colony on the Trinity River, in Texas; two years later a little band of them were sent to the San Sabá mission in western Texas to assist in civilizing the Apaches; and twenty years afterward it was suggested that a settlement, with these people as a nucleus, be established far to the north, on the upper Red River, among the Wichita Indians of Texas and Oklahoma. To help in civilizing the mission Indians of Jalisco, Sinaloa, and Sonora, the Tarascans of Michoacán were utilized; further north, the Opatas, of southern Sonora, were sent into Arizona as teachers of the Pimas; to help in civilizing the Indians of California, Serra brought mission Indians from the Peninsula.

Discipline and the elements of European civilization were imparted at the missions through religious instruction, through industrial training, and, among more advanced natives, by means of rudimentary teaching in arts and letters.

Every mission was, in the first place, a Christian seminary, designed to give religious discipline. Religious instruction, of the elementary sort suited to the occasion, was imparted by a definite routine, based on long experience, and administered with much practical sense and regard for local conditions.

Aside from the fundamental cultural concepts involved in Christianity, this religious instruction in itself involved a most important means of assimilation. By the laws of the Indies the missionaries were enjoined to instruct the neophytes in their native tongues, and in the colleges and seminaries professorships were established to teach them. But it was found that, just as the natives lacked the concepts, the Indian languages lacked the terms in which properly to convey the meaning of the Christian doctrine. Moreover, on some frontiers there were so many dialects that it was impossible for the friars to learn them. This was pre-eminently true of the

lower Rio Grande region, where there were over two hundred dialects, more than twenty of which were quite distinct. On this point Father Ortiz wrote in 1745:

The ministers who have learned some language of the Indians of these missions assert that it is impossible to compose a catechism in their idiom, because of the lack of terms in which to explain matters of Faith, and the best informed interpreters say the same. There are as many languages as there are tribes, which in these missions aggregate more than two hundred. . . . Although they mingle and understand each other to some extent, there are twenty languages used commonly by the greater number of the tribes. And since they are new to us, and there are no schools in which to learn them, and since the Fathers are occupied with ministering to the spiritual and temporal needs of the Indians, and in recovering those who flee, the Fathers can hardly be held blameworthy for not learning the native languages.

For these reasons, on the northern frontier instruction was usually given in Spanish, through interpreters at first, and directly as soon as the Indians learned the language of the friars. In the case of children, who were the chief consideration, this was quickly done. And thus incidentally a long step toward assimilation was accomplished, for we all know the importance of language in the fusing of races and cultures. The firmness of the hold of the Spanish language upon any land touched by Spain, however lightly, has often been noted. It was partly, or even largely, due to this teaching of the native children at the missions.

The routine of religious discipline established by the Franciscans in the missions taken over from the Jesuits in Sonora, in 1767, was typical of all the Franciscan missions, and was not essentially different from that of the other orders. It was described by Father Reyes, later Bishop Reyes, as follows:

Every day at sunrise the bells call the Indians to Mass. An old Indian, commonly called *mador*, and two *fiscales*, go through the whole pueblo, requiring all children and unmarried persons to go to the church, to take part in the devotion and silence of the Mass. This over, they repeat in concert, in Spanish, with the minister, the prayers and the Creed. At sunset this exercise is repeated at the door of the church, and is concluded with saying the rosary and chanting the *salve* or the *alavado*. The *mador* and the *fiscales* are charged, on Sundays and feast days, to take care to require all men, women, and children to be present at Mass, with their poor clothes clean, and all washed and combed.

The very act of going to church, then, involved a lesson in the amenities of civilization. There was virtue then as now in putting on one's "Sunday clothes".

On these days [Father Reyes continues] Mass is chanted with harps, violins [all played by the natives], and a choir of from four to six [native] men and women. In Lent all have been required to go to Mass daily. . . .

On Palm Sunday, at the head missions (*cabeceras*), that feast is observed with an image and processions. After Easter, censuses are made to ascertain what ones have complied with the Church. In the first years it seemed impossible to us missionaries to vanquish the rudeness of the Indians, and the difficulties of making them confess, and of administering communion. But lately all the young men and some of the old have confessed. In the principal pueblos, where the missionaries reside, many attend the sacraments on feast days. On the Day of Santa Maria the rosary is sung through the pueblo. On other occasions they are permitted to have balls, diversions, and innocent games. But because they have attempted to prohibit superstitious balls and the scalp dance, the missionaries have encountered strong opposition from the [secular] superiors of the province, who desire to let the Indians continue these excesses.

They contributed, no doubt, to the war spirit, and thus to the defense of the province against the Apaches.

If the mission was a Christian seminary, it was scarcely less an industrial training school. Father Engelhardt writes:

It must be remembered that the friars came to California as messengers of Christ. They were not farmers, mechanics, or stock breeders. Those who, perhaps, had been engaged in such pursuits, had abandoned them for the higher occupation of the priest of God, and they had no desire to be further entangled in worldly business. In California, however [and he might have added, quite generally] the messengers of the Gospel had to introduce, teach, and supervise those very arts, trades, and occupations, before they could expect to make any headway with the truths of salvation. . . . As an absolutely necessary means to win the souls of the savages, these unworldly men accepted the disagreeable task of conducting huge farms, teaching and supervising various mechanical trades, having an eye on the livestock and herders, and making ends meet generally.

The civilizing function of the typical Spanish mission, where the missionaries had charge of the temporalities as well as of the spiritualities, was evident from the very nature of the mission plant. While the church was ever the centre of the establishment, and the particular object of the minister's pride and care, it was by no means the larger part. Each fully developed mission was a great industrial school, of which the largest, as in California, sometimes managed more than 2000 Indians. There were weaving rooms, blacksmith shop, tannery, wine-press, and warehouses; there were irrigating ditches, vegetable gardens, and grain fields; and on the ranges roamed thousands of horses, cattle, sheep, and goats. Training in the care of fields and stock not only made the neophytes self-supporting, but afforded the discipline necessary for the rudiments of civilized life. The women were taught to cook, sew, spin, and weave; the men to fell the forest, build, run the forge, tan leather, make ditches, tend cattle, and shear sheep.

Even in New Mexico, where the missionaries were not in charge of the temporalities—that is, of the economic interests of the Indians—and where the Indians had a well-established native agriculture, the friars were charged with their instruction in the arts and crafts, as well as with their religious education. And when the custodian, Father Benavides—later Bishop of Goa—wrote in 1630, after three decades of effort by the friars in that province, he was able to report fourteen monasteries, serving fifty-odd pueblos, each with its school, where the Indians were all taught not only to sing, play musical instruments, read, and write, but, as Benavides puts it, “all the trades and polite deportment”, all imparted by “the great industry of the Religious who converted them”.

In controlling, supervising, and teaching the Indians, the friars were assisted by the soldier guards, who served as *mayor domos* of the fields, of the cattle and horse herds, of the sheep and goat ranches, and of the shops. In the older missions, even among the most backward tribes, it sometimes became possible to dispense with this service, as at San Antonio, Texas, where, it was reported in 1772, the Indians, once naked savages who lived on cactus apples and cotton-tail rabbits, had become so skilled and trustworthy that “without the aid of the Spaniards they harvest, from irrigated fields, maize, beans, and cotton in plenty, and Castilian corn for sugar. There are cattle, sheep, and goats in abundance”, all being the product of the care and labor of the natives.

The results of this industrial training at the missions were to be seen in the imposing structures that were built, the fertile farms that were tilled, and the great stock ranches that were tended, by erstwhile barbarians, civilized under the patient discipline of the missionaries, assisted by soldier guards and imported Indian teachers, not in our Southwest alone, but on nearly every frontier of Spanish America.

The missionaries transplanted to the frontiers and made known to the natives almost every conceivable domestic plant and animal of Europe. By requiring the Indians to work three days a week at community tasks, the Jesuits in Pimería Alta—to give a particular illustration—established at all the missions flourishing ranches of horses, cattle, sheep, and goats, and opened fields and gardens for the cultivation of a vast variety of food plants. Kino wrote in 1710 of the Jesuit missions of Sonora and Arizona,

There are already thrifty and abundant fields . . . of wheat, maize, frijoles, chickpeas, beans, lentils, bastard chickpeas (*garbanzas*), etc. There are orchards, and in them vineyards for wine for the Masses; and fields of sweet cane for syrup and panocha, and with the favor of Heaven, before long, for sugar. There are many Castilian fruit trees,

such as figs, quinces, oranges, pomegranates, peaches, apricots, pears, apples, mulberries, etc., and all sorts of garden stuff, such as cabbage, lettuce, onions, garlic, anise, pepper, mustard, mint, etc.

Other temporal means [he continues] are the plentiful ranches, which are already stocked with cattle, sheep, and goats, many droves of mares, horses, and pack animals, mules as well as horses, for transportation and commerce, and very fat sheep, producing much tallow, suet, and soap, which is already manufactured in abundance.

An illustration of some of the more moderate material results is to be had in the following description of the four Querétaran missions in Texas, based on an official report made in 1762.

Besides the church, each mission had its *convento*, or monastery, including cells for the friars, porter's lodge, refectory, kitchen, offices, workshops, and granary, usually all under a common roof and ranged round a *patio*. At San Antonio de Valero the *convento* was a two-story structure fifty *varas* square with two *patios* and with arched cloisters above and below. The others were similar.

An important part of each mission was the workshop, for here the neophytes not only helped to supply their economic needs, but got an important part of their training for civilized life. At each of these four missions the Indians manufactured *mantas*, *terlingas*, *sayales*, *rebozos*, *frezadas*, and other common fabrics of wool and cotton. At Mission San Antonio the workshop contained four looms, and two store-rooms with cotton, wool, cards, spindles, etc. At Concepción and San Francisco there were three looms each.

The neophytes of each mission lived in an Indian village, or *pueblo*, closely connected with the church and monastery. Of those of the four Querétaran missions we have the fullest description of the *pueblo* at Mission San Antonio de Valero. It consisted of seven rows of houses built of stone, with arched porticoes, doors, and windows. There was a plaza through which ran a water-ditch, grown with willows and fruit trees. Within the plaza was a curbed well, to supply water in case of a siege by the enemy. The *pueblo* was surrounded by a wall, and over the gate was a tower, with embrasures, and equipped with three cannon, firearms, and ammunition. The houses were furnished with high beds, chests, metates, pots, kettles, and other domestic utensils. The *pueblo* of San Antonio was typical of all.

Agricultural and stock-raising activities had increased since 1745. At the four Querétaran missions there were now grazing 4897 head of cattle, 12,000 sheep and goats, and about 1600 horses, and each mission had from thirty-seven to fifty yoke of working oxen. Of the four missions San Francisco raised the most stock, having 2262 head of cattle and 4000 sheep and goats. Each mission had its

ranch, some distance away, where the stock was kept, with one or more stone houses, occupied by the families of the overseers; the necessary corrals, farming implements, and carts; and tools for carpentry, masonry, and blacksmithing. Each mission had well-tilled fields, fenced in and watered by good irrigating ditches, with stone dams. In these fields maize, chile, beans, and cotton were raised in abundance, and in the *huertas* a large variety of garden truck.

This picture of the Texas missions is interesting, but in magnitude the establishments described are not to be compared with those in Paraguay or even in California, where, in 1834, on the eve of the destruction of the missions, 31,000 mission Indians at twenty-one missions herded 396,000 cattle, 62,000 horses, and 321,000 hogs, sheep, and goats, and harvested 123,000 bushels of grain, and where corresponding skill and industry were shown by the neophytes in orchard, garden, wine-press, loom, shop, and forge.

The laws of the Indies even prescribed and the missions provided a school for self-government, elementary and limited, it is true, but germane and potential nevertheless. This was effected by organizing the Indians of the missions into a pueblo, with civil and military officers, modelled upon the Spanish administration. When the mission was founded the secular head of the district—governor, captain, or alcalde—as representative of the king, formally organized the pueblo, appointed the native officers, and gave title to the four-league grant of land. In constituting the native government, wisdom dictated that use should be made of the existing Indian organization, natives of prestige being given the important offices. Thereafter the civil officers were chosen by a form of native election, under the supervision of the missionary, and approved by the secular head of the jurisdiction.

The civil officers were usually a governor, captain, alcaldes, and alguacil, who by law constituted a cabildo, or council. The military officers were a captain or a *teniente*, and subalterns, and were appointed by the secular head, or by a native captain-general subject to approval by the secular head. The military officers had their own insignia, and, to give them prestige, separate benches were placed in the churches for the governor, alcalde, and council. In Sonora there was a *topil*, whose duty was to care for the community houses—a sort of free hostelry, open to all travellers, which seems to have been of native rather than of Spanish origin. The Indians had their own jail, and inflicted minor punishments, prescribed by the minister. Indian overseers kept the laborers at their work and, indeed, much of the task of controlling the Indians was effected through Indian officers themselves. Of course it was the directing

force of the padres and the restraining force of the near-by presidio which furnished the ultimate pressure.

This pueblo government was established among the more advanced tribes everywhere, and it succeeded in varying degrees. It was often a cause for conflict of jurisdiction, and in California, where the natives were of the most barbarous, it was strongly opposed by the missionaries. It has been called a farce, but it certainly was not so intended. It was not self-government any more than is student government in a primary school. But it was a means of control, and was a step toward self-government. It is one of the things, moreover, which help to explain how two missionaries and three or four soldiers could make an orderly town out of two or three thousand savages recently assembled from divers and sometimes mutually hostile tribes. So deeply was it impressed upon the Indians of New Mexico that some of them yet maintain their Spanish pueblo organization, and by it still govern themselves, extra-legally. And, I am told, in some places even in California, the descendants of the mission Indians still keep up the pueblo organization as a sort of fraternity, or secret society.

In these ways, then, did the missions serve as frontier agencies of Spain. As their first and primary task, the missionaries spread the Faith. But in addition, designedly or incidentally, they explored the frontiers, promoted their occupation, defended them and the interior settlements, taught the Indians the Spanish language, and disciplined them in good manners, in the rudiments of European crafts, of agriculture, and even of self-government. Moreover, the missions were a force which made for the preservation of the Indians, as opposed to their destruction, so characteristic of the Anglo-American frontier. In the English colonies the only good Indians were dead Indians. In the Spanish colonies it was thought worth while to improve the natives for this life as well as for the next. Perhaps the missions did not, in every respect, represent a twentieth-century ideal. Sometimes, and to some degree, they failed, as has every human institution. Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that of the millions of half-castes living south of us, the grandparents, in a large proportion of cases, at some generation removed, on one side or the other, were once mission Indians, and as such learned the elements of Spanish civilization. For these reasons, as well as for unfeigned religious motives, the missions received the royal support. They were a conspicuous feature of Spain's frontiering genius.

HERBERT E. BOLTON.

THE HISTORY OF GERMAN SOCIALISM RECONSIDERED

IN 1848 Marx and Engels published the Communist Manifesto, that "birth-cry of modern Socialism" which, by its strident appeals to the demons of Revolution and proletarian Internationalism, was well calculated to affright divine-right monarchs and to terrify all respectable well-to-do bourgeois. "You have nothing to lose but your chains", cried the prophets of the new and awful dispensation: "you have a world to win; workingmen of *all* countries, *unite!*" In 1914 the German disciples of the Communist gospel, more numerous by far than their comrades in any other country, stood staunchly loyal to Kaiser as well as to Fatherland, and voted taxes and gave their lives, seemingly in perfect concord with the titled nobility and the wealthy middle class, in order that victory in a huge world-war should be wrested by Germans from other nationalities, even from the workingmen of other nationalities; of internationalism, so emphasized in 1848, they now said little, and of revolution, revolt, or rebellion, they breathed not a word. Yet the attitude of the German Social Democrats in 1914, far from being determined on the spur of the moment by frenzy or absence of thought, was in fact conditioned quite rationally by certain developments in the evolution of German Socialism since 1848. It is the intent of this paper to reconsider the history of the German Social Democratic movement in a new light, in the light of the present world-conflagration, and to present certain facts which, although they have escaped popular attention, may afford an illuminating commentary on the gradual elimination of the tactics and policies that in an earlier day had made German Social Democracy feared and hated and thoroughly disreputable.¹

It is not without significance that organized Socialism in Germany is hardly older than the ministry of Bismarck. It stepped into the political arena at a time when violent revolutionary republicanism had been discredited and when the ablest and most forceful Prussian Junker was already in the saddle with his baggage of a more or less benevolent Hohenzollern paternalism. There was no

¹ Of the standard histories of the German Social Democracy, the best are Franz Mehring's *Geschichte der Deutschen Sozialdemokratie* (1897-1898, 2 vols.), and Edgard Milhaud's *La Démocratie Socialiste Allemande* (1903).

tradition in Germany of successful revolution, such as had been firmly established in France by the events of 1789, 1830, and 1848. From its first formal appearance, German Socialism was less revolutionary than evolutionary.

At first glance the happenings of 1848 might seem to disprove this thesis. Was not the revolutionary movement of 1848 attended in Germany by a lively agitation among the working classes? Were not the *Bund der Gerechten* and the *Arbeiterverbrüderung* true precursors of Socialism? Upon closer scrutiny, however, the revolution of 1848 reveals itself as an essentially middle-class uprising, in which outbreaks of violence among the workingmen for the most part bore a closer resemblance to riots than to organized revolution. Germany in 1848, let it ever be remembered, was even more unripe for a Socialist revolution than for a democratic and national one. Industrial development, the spread of the factory system and the growth of cities—the very stuff from which Marxian socialism has always been fashioned—was much more backward in Germany than in England or in France; urban wage-earners were relatively few and impotent. What workers there were, moreover, were imbued with the petty bourgeois spirit and, worse still from the standpoint of revolution, to some extent actually with the spirit of the medieval guilds.

Only a comparatively small minority of the German workers had grasped the revolutionary mission of the working class. If they everywhere fought in the front rank of the advanced parties; if, wherever they could, they tried to urge on the middle-class democracy, they paid the cost of all this in their own person. The Communists of 1848 fell on the barricades, on the battle-field of Baden; they filled the prisons, or they were obliged, when the reaction triumphed all along the line, to go into exile, where a large number of them died in misery.²

Great economic prosperity in 1850 not only bolstered up the tottering thrones of central Europe but also snuffed out the last flickering flames of the workingmen's agitation of the period. The governments soon felt themselves strong enough to dissolve all revolutionary organizations, and, on the motion of Prussia and Austria, the Bundestag in 1854 decreed that all the federated states must suppress every workingmen's society or fraternity which pursued political, socialist, or communist ends. Not only did the revolutionary movement of 1848–1849 mean for German Socialists the loss of their leaders and the dissolution of their organizations, but it likewise left in their minds an ineradicable distrust of violence as a means of realizing their ends. Marx and Engels perceived

² Bernstein, *Ferdinand Lassalle as a Social Reformer* (1893), pp. 4–5.

the signs of the new era and on the eve of their expulsion from Germany published a gloss on their gospel of 1848, a gloss to which their German disciples attached, as time went on, an ever greater reverence and authority.

In the universal prosperity of the present time [wrote Marx and Engels in 1850], when the productive forces of bourgeois society are developing as luxuriantly as is possible under bourgeois conditions, *there can be no question of an effective revolution*. Such a revolution is possible only in periods when the two factors of modern productive force and bourgeois productive methods are in conflict with each other.³

In the Karl Marx of 1850 is an almost pessimistic fatalism in sharp contrast to the romantic enthusiasm of a Ledru-Rollin, a Mazzini, or a Kossuth.

When, more than a decade later, almost synchronizing with the advent of Bismarck to power in Prussia, the workingmen's agitation was resumed, the chief legacy of reborn German Socialism from the days of 1848-1849 was a horror of violence. No more incitements to immediate revolution came from the people's apostles. The foremost leaders had, temporarily at least, turned from dangerous propaganda to scholarly exegesis. Marx published his *Critique of Political Economy* in 1859 and forthwith set to work on his masterpiece *Das Capital*; Lassalle's *System of Acquired Rights* appeared in 1861. In the meantime, the middle-class German liberals were rapidly substituting England for France as the model for their programme and their methods. The *Fortschrittspartei*, organized in June, 1861, soon comprised the bulk of Prussian liberals under the leadership of such men as Karl Twesten, Eduard Lasker, and Rudolf Virchow; and when, in the elections of November, 1861, the new party gained complete control of the House of Representatives, a most gracious springtime for the people seemed close at hand; as Bernstein has remarked, "it promised the rose without the thorns". Everything would now come off in the most approved parliamentary style. The party of progress would utilize the pending questions of military reform and the budget in order to compel the government both to accept the doctrine of ministerial responsibility and to respect the constitutional guarantees of personal liberties. Should the government oppose the lawfully-elected deputies, then the Progressive majority would hold up supplies until such time as the government would be disgraced and obliged to retire. But above all, no violence! Only a quiet, pacifistic, idyllic parliamentary pressure!

³ "Revue von Mai bis Oktober 1850", *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, V. and VI. 153 (1850). Quoted by Engels in his introduction to *Enthüllungen über den Kommunisten-Prozess zu Köln* (1885), p. 15.

Besides, the Progressives in their sympathetic study of English institutions and precedents had hit upon a happily peaceful way of solving the social and economic problems of the day. If they could consecrate Prussia to "liberty"—liberty of trade, liberty of contract, liberty of association, liberty of education, liberty of self-help—they would wean the workingmen from socialistic Utopias and win them to a proper respect for law and order and individual rights, not the least of which was the right of private property. Like their English contemporaries, these Prussian liberals were not simon-pure democrats: as well-to-do middle-class people, they themselves were entrenched in the three-class electoral system of their country and could see no good reason for introducing a universal manhood suffrage which might imperil their majority in the House of Representatives and endanger glorious "liberty", especially since the workingmen, to enjoy the blessings of this liberty, had no need of the ballot. The workers had no need of direct parliamentary representation; the Progressives were their benevolent if self-constituted champions. When a group of workers humbly petitioned for full membership in the party, the magnanimous but hardly satisfactory reply was vouchsafed that "all workers might consider *honorary* membership as their birthright".

The magnanimity of the liberal leaders was not convincing to all the workers. There were some who suspected that "liberty" of the middle-class variety might not prove a panacea for long hours, small wages, and miserable factory and tenement conditions. It was before a group of these doubters and upon their invitation that Ferdinand Lassalle in 1862 delivered his lectures on the "Workers' Programme" (*Arbeiterprogramm*) and "What now?" (*Was nun?*). He confirmed their suspicions and strengthened their doubts. And thenceforth the issue was squarely joined between the middle-class Progressives and the Socialist followers of Lassalle.

Lassalle's following was never numerous. Although he was a brilliant speaker and writer, fired with the most ardent enthusiasm, tireless in travel and propaganda, and possessed in no small degree of organizing ability, he was unable to awaken the bulk of the German working class to any appreciation of the rôle which it might conceivably play in the national, political, and social life of Germany; and *Der Allgemeine Deutsche Arbeiterverein*, which Lassalle formed in 1863 and over which he exercised practically dictatorial powers, numbered at his death on August 31, 1864, fewer than five thousand adherents. Nevertheless, it is from this General Association of German Workingmen that the present-day German Social

Democracy is derived in unbroken apostolic succession, and, as I hope to show, the "deposit of faith and morals" delivered by the Master Lassalle during his brief ministry to a mere handful of rather ignorant and poverty-stricken German workers (many of them of Jewish extraction) has been preserved jealously and zealously—one might almost say superstitiously—for the guidance and inspiration of some four and a quarter million German voters (1912). The real beginning of German Social Democracy dates from Lassalle's "Open Reply Letter" (*Offenes Antwort-Schreiben*) of 1863 rather than from the "Communist Manifesto" launched by Marx and Engels in 1848.

What was the essence of the gospel according to Lassalle? In the first place, it dogmatized the popular conviction that force and violence could not materially further any radical cause. Lassalle despised the French Revolution of 1789 as a compromising bourgeois revolution. He thought the German failure of 1848 only natural. Under the spell of Fichte and Hegel, he held in common with Marx and Engels that historical evolution (*Entwicklung*) is gradual and is determined by changing economic conditions, but, truer to Hegel and Fichte than Marx and Engels had been, he extolled the State as an eternal, unchanging concept, an end in itself. In this sense he quoted a passage from an address of Boeckh's in which the celebrated antiquarian appealed from the "State-Concept of Liberalism", the passive-policeman idea, to the "antique civilization" (*Kultur*) which had become once and for all the inalienable foundation of the German mind and which had given birth to the notion that the concept of the State must be so far enlarged that "the State shall be the institution in which the whole virtue of mankind shall realize itself".⁴ "The immemorial vestal fire of all civilization, the State, I defend with you against those modern barbarians" (*i. e.*, the Progressives of Prussia), he exclaimed to the judges of the Berlin *Kammergericht* in his speech on "Indirect Taxation".⁵ So ideological did he make his concept of the State that he instilled into the workers a semi-mystical reverence for even the active-policeman Prussian State of his own day. In this respect a most literal Hegelian, he never uttered any of the ambiguities which characterized Marx and Engels. The one thing which he held in common with the Progressives was an abhorrence of violence.

⁴ The clearest statement of Lassalle's idea of the State and of his repugnance to violent revolution is to be found in the *Arbeiterprogramm* (ed. Bernstein), II. 9-50 (1893), although all his writings are impregnated with the same idea and the same repugnance.

⁵ *Die Indirekte Steuer* (ed. Bernstein), II. 388 (1893).

A second note of Lassalle's gospel was an unwavering belief in the inevitability and desirability of political democracy. Here he was one with the British Chartists. He wished redress of workingmen's grievances; he championed productive co-operative societies as the goal of social reform. But in his opinion co-operative societies and redress of grievances could come only by means of state aid and state action, and the assistance of the State would be forthcoming only when a class-conscious proletariat should become a political force, and the only way in which the proletarians could exert direct and commanding influence would be through universal manhood suffrage. To the very end Lassalle held fast to his conviction that the demands of the General Association of German Workingmen should be limited to this one point: "Universal suffrage in order to obtain state help for productive co-operative societies".⁶

When Lassalle preached his simple gospel, Prussia, it must be remembered, was in the throes of a desperate constitutional conflict. On one side was the Conservative government, headed since September, 1862, by Bismarck, backed by the Junkers and lauded by the Evangelical clergy, a government determined not only to effect thoroughgoing military reforms but also to safeguard the ideals of von Gerlach⁷ and the *Kreuz Zeitung*—the Christian State, divine-right monarchy, "historic rights", benevolent and bureaucratic paternalism, invocation of the God of Might. On the other side was the Progressive majority in the House of Representatives, whose ideal of monarchy was much nearer to the traditions of the British Hanoverians and of the French Orleanists than to those of the Prussian Hohenzollerns, and whose ideal of economic society approximated that of the Manchester school rather than that of Hegel or of Fichte; their immediate programme was, of course, to assure "liberty" to the individual and constitutional parliamentary government to Prussia. Had all the forces opposed to Bismarck and his Conservative régime been able to co-operate, the outcome of the struggle might have been quite different. But, as has often happened, divisions among its opponents and mutual recriminations between their camps proved a veritable godsend to the government. The Progressives distrusted if they did not despise the Socialist workingmen. Lassalle hit back manfully; he

⁶ Cf. the *Offenes Antwort-Schreiben* (ed. Bernstein), II, 409-445 (1893).

⁷ Ernst Ludwig v. Gerlach (1795-1877), the great intellectual proponent of German Conservatism. Cf. the *Aufzeichnungen aus seinem Leben und Wirken* (ed. Jakob v. Gerlach, 1903, 2 vols.).

taught his followers to hate the Progressives and to give free expression to their hatred.⁸

Enough has been said to make clear how fundamental and how natural were the divergences between Lassalle and the Progressives. Lassalle styled the Progressives a "clique" and inveighed against "a Louis-Philippe monarchy created by the bourgeoisie".⁹ To Karl Marx the conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat was part of an elaborate epic economic *theory*; to Ferdinand Lassalle it was rather the precise, definite political *fact* of the fight between the Prussian Progressives and his own Workingmen's Association. Marx, in order to subdue the bourgeoisie, would have the proletariat make no terms whatsoever with the landed aristocracy and other supports of a conservative society which to him represented but an anachronistic survival of an older economic struggle. Lassalle, on the other hand, for reasons of practical politics in Germany, found himself gradually impelled into Conservative or quasi-Conservative lanes and by-ways. He could see good points in what the English have termed "Tory Socialism" more clearly than in middle-class liberalism; and many of his utterances must have been as pleasing to Bismarck as they were angering to the Progressives. He insisted that in the pending constitutional conflict the Prussian Conservative government could not and should not yield to "the clique", but he suggested that

it might well call the people upon the scene and trust to them. To do this, it need but call to mind the origin of the monarchy, for all monarchy has originally been monarchy of the people. . . . A Louis-Philippe monarchy certainly could not do this; but a monarchy that still stands as kneaded out of its original dough, leaning upon the hilt of the sword, might quite certainly do this if it determined to pursue truly great, national, and democratic aims.¹⁰

Though Eduard Bernstein, the foremost authority on matters Lassallean, has assailed the usually accepted idea of Lassalle's intense nationalism,¹¹ the fact remains, nevertheless, that Bismarck in the pursuit of his foreign policy would have found a more loyal equerry in the leader of the Association of German Workingmen than in any member of the parliamentary majority. Lassalle ardently desired the political unification of Germany and perceived

⁸ Lassalle set the pace in his vindictive *Herr Bastiat-Schulze von Delitzsch, der Oekonomische Julian, oder Kapital und Arbeit* (January, 1864).

⁹ *Der Hochverraths-Prozess wider Ferd. Lassalle vor dem Staatsgerichtshof zu Berlin am 12. März 1864* (ed. Bernstein), II. 743-830 (1893).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Bernstein, *Ferdinand Lassalle as a Social Reformer*.

readily that real unity could be obtained only by the arms of Prussia and the exclusion of Austria. As early as 1859, in a brochure on the Italian War,¹² he unfolded the plan which Bismarck was to execute seven years later. Possibly at some future date unified Germany might be transformed peaceably into a national republican state, but in the meantime the domination of Prussia would be essential. This power, reactionary *par excellence*, was called to be the instrument for national union and for the emancipation of the working class, and that, through social royalty and state socialism.

Without attempting to give a comprehensive view of Lassalle's career,¹³ it has seemed worth while to dwell at some length upon certain features of his work which were destined for a long while to influence the German Social Democrats. Particularly, his policy of combating the liberal bourgeoisie and of coquetting with the court was maintained in full vigor by Jean Baptista von Schweitzer, the president of the party from 1864 to 1872 and editor of the *Sozialdemokrat*, the official organ of the movement. Schweitzer, like Lassalle, believed that if Bismarck could be prevailed upon to utilize the lower classes as a counterpoise to the obstreperous middle-class Progressives, the king out of the plenitude of his royal grace and benevolence might freely grant the fundamental demand of the General Association, *universal suffrage in order to obtain state help for productive co-operative societies*; and in this question of tactics Schweitzer went further than Lassalle in adopting a positively fawning attitude toward the Hohenzollern family and the aristocratic Prussian Minister-President. Early in January, 1865, a leading article in the *Sozialdemokrat* indicated that the best solution of the Schleswig-Holstein problem would be the unconditional annexation of the disputed provinces to Prussia; and in a series of articles on "The Bismarck Ministry", running from January 27 to March 1, Schweitzer declared that the only two forces capable of dealing successfully with the question of national unification were the proletariat and the Prussian army. He spoke of

¹² *Der Italienische Krieg und die Aufgabe Preussens: eine Stimme aus der Demokratie* (pub. anonymously, 1859).

¹³ The authoritative works on Lassalle's career are: Becker, *Geschichte der Arbeiter-Agitation Ferdinand Lassalles* (1874); Brandes, *Ferdinand Lassalle: ein Literarisches Charakterbild* (1877, Eng. trans. 1911); Dawson, *German Socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle* (1888); Bernstein, *Ferdinand Lassalle as a Social Reformer* (1893), and *Ferdinand Lassalle und seine Bedeutung für die Arbeiter-Klasse* (1904); and Harms, *Ferdinand Lassalle und seine Bedeutung für die Deutsche Sozialdemokratie* (1909).

"the mighty genius" of Frederick the Great, "a man admirable in every respect", and of "the remarkable" and "the praiseworthy" policy of Bismarck.

It has long been customary for Socialist historians and apologists to denounce Schweitzer as "the paid agent of Bismarck" and as a renegade (and something of a renegade he was, after 1872) and to emphasize the differences between his corrupt movement on the one hand and the pure movement of Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel on the other. A re-examination and reappraisal of the facts in the matter, however, while establishing neither proof nor disproof of Schweitzer's alleged acceptance of bribes from Bismarck, would seem to show that Liebknecht and Schweitzer were separated far less on the question of Socialist principles than on the question of political tactics. Liebknecht, it is true, during his thirteen years' exile in England lived much in the society of Marx and Engels and shared their radical views to a greater degree than Lassalle or Schweitzer. But Marx and Engels by this time were not preaching violence or rebellion; and that there was no incompatibility of major tactics between Lassalle and Liebknecht is evidenced by the fact that the latter was a great admirer of the standard-bearer of English Tory Socialism. Disraeli's *Sybil* was translated by Liebknecht's wife and given an honorable place in the German Socialist library. Liebknecht himself, like Marx and Engels, trusted the feudal aristocracy of Prussia less than that of England and disliked Lassalle's flirtations with Bismarck as well as the autocratic organization of the General Association of German Workingmen. But a difference of quite another sort better explains the bitterness with which Liebknecht and his disciple Bebel subsequently assailed Schweitzer and the General Association. Bebel was a Saxon and Liebknecht was a native of Hesse, and both men shared the South Germans' fear and hatred of Prussia. Liebknecht, an *enfant terrible* of 1848-1849, had come to decry the use of violence as a result of his stirring and disheartening experiences in those years, but he never lost faith in the ultimate triumph of the ideal of that revolutionary movement—a Greater Germany welded together under a republican form of government for the attainment of thoroughgoing social democracy. These principles might be the eventual goal of Lassalle and Schweitzer, but the means of reaching the goal were quite different. The latter, as we have seen, would solve the immediate problem of German unification precisely as Bismarck was preparing to solve it; Liebknecht and Bebel, on the other hand, would hark back to the days of the

Frankfort Assembly and would achieve national unification not under the aegis of Prussia, not with the aid of militarism, not at the expense of the exclusion of Austria. The result was that in February, 1865, while Schweitzer was penning his fulsome praises of Bismarck's Schleswig-Holstein policy, Liebknecht resigned his connection with the *Sozialdemokrat* and turned his attention to propaganda in Saxony, which then was a field ripening to the anti-Prussian harvester. To his own brand of Socialism Liebknecht speedily won August Bebel and a sufficient number of other Saxon workingmen to admit of the election of himself and Bebel as representatives of a *Sächsische Volkspartei* in the Reichstag of the North German Confederation.

In this Reichstag, newly created in 1867 as a result of the Seven Weeks' War, Liebknecht and Bebel found themselves beside Schweitzer, who had been elected by votes of the General Association of German Workingmen. Their differences about national policy were more patent than ever. Schweitzer insisted upon taking the credit for Bismarck's condescending acquiescence in the establishment of universal manhood suffrage in the North German Confederation; he considered the Confederation a *fait accompli* which should not be undone if it could, and which should be utilized to further social and economic reforms for the workingmen. Liebknecht and Bebel, on the other hand, maintained that universal suffrage for the Reichstag was delusive so long as it was hedged about by so many constitutional restrictions and rendered impotent by the retention of the three-class electoral system in all-powerful Prussia; they protested vehemently against the very existence of the North German Confederation as consecrating the policy of violence and of Prussian monarchical domination; they refused to make terms with a political order based on brute force, injustice, and autocracy.

In vain did Liebknecht endeavor to discredit Schweitzer with the majority of the General Association. Unable to force him out of its presidency, Liebknecht at length convened a minority congress at Eisenach in August, 1869, and there formed a rival organization—the Social Democratic Workingmen's Party (*Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei*)—with a Marxian programme and a Marxian organization. The secessionists from the Lassallean association were promptly affiliated with the International which Karl Marx had launched at London in 1864, only a few weeks after the death of Lassalle. From 1869 to 1875 the two rival societies existed side by side and for some time Eisenachers and Lassalleans vied with

each other in the art of calling names: the Eisenachers accused the Lassalleans of accepting bribes from the Prussian government; the Lassalleans retaliated by styling the Eisenachers "traitors" and charging them with being the agents of the bourgeoisie.

Such was the situation when on July 19, 1870, the Reichstag of the North German Confederation was convened in extraordinary session to grant credits for the war which France had just proclaimed against Prussia. The Reichstag voted the credits unanimously except for the two votes of Bebel and Liebknecht. The latter merely withheld their votes: casting them in the negative might seem to countenance the criminal policy of Napoleon III.; casting them in the affirmative would certainly be construed as an endorsement of the inevitable outcome of the Bismarckian "crime of 1866". The deputies of the Lassallean faction and one Eisenacher, believing that Prussia had been outrageously attacked by the jealous and ambitious emperor of the French, voted the appropriations necessary for the conduct of the war.

After Sedan, all the German Socialists, both Eisenachers and Lassalleans, declared and voted against the continuation of a war which they considered no longer defensive. A "Manifesto to the German Workingmen", published by the party executive of the Eisenachers on September 5, 1870, stated that

it is a duty of the German people, and indeed it is in their own interests, to accord an honorable peace to the French Republic. . . . Above all it is the duty of the German workingmen, among whom the solidarity of interests between the German and French peoples has become a sacred conviction and who see in the French workingmen only brothers and comrades to whom they are united by a common lot and by common aspirations, to secure for the French Republic such a peace. . . . It is absolutely necessary that in all places the party, in accordance with our manifesto, shall organize popular demonstrations as imposing as possible against the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine and in favor of an honorable peace with the French Republic.¹⁴

The answer of Bismarck's government to this appeal was the imprisonment of its signatories by military order in the fortress of Boyen near the Russian frontier and the quick forcible breaking-up of every attempted demonstration inspired by it. On November 24, when the government opened the regular session of the Reichstag and demanded a new loan for the prosecution of the war, Liebknecht and Bebel were quite outspoken in urging the rejection of the loan and in begging the chancellor to terminate the war without any annexations. In December, the two annoying and

¹⁴ Carl Stegmann and C. Hugo, *Handbuch des Socialismus* (1897), art. "Eisenacher", p. 170.

talkative deputies were arrested, together with Hepner, the associate editor of the *Volkstaat*, the official organ of the Eisenachers, on the charge of "inciting to high treason". After three months and a half of close surveillance—the war by that time being practically concluded—the accused were given provisional liberty. Subsequently, in March, 1872, they were tried at Leipzig: Hepner was acquitted, but Liebknecht and Bebel were condemned to two years' confinement in a military fortress; and Bebel was released in 1874 only to be clapped into jail another nine months for lèse-majesté.¹⁵ Beside these leaders of the Eisenachers, four members of the Leipzig committee and numerous other members of the party had been accused of organizing protests against the later developments of the Franco-Prussian War and had been condemned to various terms of imprisonment.

Nor were the government's prosecutions directed solely against the Eisenachers. The Lassalleans themselves, who up to Sedan had been under Bismarck's spell and had been magnanimously tolerated by him, now broke with him and paid the penalty by losing his protection. While they acclaimed the overthrow of Napoleon III. and the establishment of the German Empire, they denounced the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine; and the failure of Schweitzer to secure re-election to the Reichstag in 1871 lost him both his popularity with his followers and his usefulness to Bismarck. Moreover, the Lassalleans all along had based their admiration for the chancellor upon his strenuous opposition to the hated bourgeoisie, but now in the early 'seventies Bismarck was apparently surrendering himself completely to the programme and the policies of the National Liberals and the Free Conservatives, those very elements of the national life which the Lassalleans most distrusted. To cap the climax, in June, 1874, the Imperial Prosecutor Tessenroff obtained a court order for the provisional closing of the General Association of German Workingmen. Whereupon, Toelcke, one of the Lassallean chieftains, wrote to Liebknecht and to Geib, a member of the Eisenach executive, proposing a corporate union of the rival Socialist organizations. At Gotha, accordingly, a joint congress assembled in May, 1875, comprising seventy-three delegates representing 16,000 Lassalleans, and fifty-six delegates representing some 9000 Eisenachers. The outcome, as everyone knows, was the

¹⁵ Interesting side-lights on these events are supplied by *Der Hochverraths-Prozess wider Liebknecht, Bebel, Hepner, vor dem Schwurgericht zu Leipzig vom 11. bis 26. März 1872, mit einer Einleitung von W. Liebknecht* (1894), and by Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben* (3 vols., 1910-1914).

coalescence of the two groups into a well-knit "Socialist Workingmen's Party of Germany" (*Socialistische Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands*). In general, the Lassalleans had their say in the programme of the new organization, much to the chagrin of Karl Marx in distant London, and the Eisenachers contented themselves with democratizing the form of party administration. The comparative ease with which agreement was reached is proof positive of the fact that the mere "moderation" of Lassalle's fundamental principles had never been the real reason for the revolt of Liebknecht and Bebel.

It may seem surprising that the German Socialists considerably increased their enrolled number and their electoral strength in the decade of the 'seventies, since their ineffective but fierce opposition to the Franco-Prussian War and to the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine and their loud but dangerous praise of the revolutionary Paris Commune might naturally be expected to alienate the multitude of patriotic and order-loving Germans. In explanation of this phenomenon, it is to be observed, first, that in Germany the Socialists precipitated no riots and submitted to persecution in a most dutiful manner; secondly, that the larger measure of freedom of speech, of the press, of meeting, and of association, which characterized the first years of the German Empire under the influence of the National Liberal régime, afforded a better opportunity than ever before for Socialist propaganda; and thirdly, that the immediate mushroom growth of German industry and trade, consequent upon the erection of the empire and the payment of the French war indemnity, and resulting in the "Panic of 1873", rapidly huddled lower-class Germans into towns and cities, only to reduce many of them to want and suffering, and thereby greatly increased the potential number of those who would turn to the economic doctrines of Socialism for deliverance from their miserable plight. Socialism, as Liebknecht said, "became the barometer which indicated the general discontent". Even before the unifying Gotha Congress, Socialism was growing in Germany. In 1871 the Socialists polled 124,700 votes in the empire and elected two candidates to the Reichstag; in 1874 they polled 352,000 votes and elected nine deputies. The Gotha Congress contributed further to the effective propaganda of the Socialists, with the result that at the elections of 1877 they secured 493,300 votes and twelve members of the Reichstag. In 1877-1878, the work of making Socialist converts was being forwarded by forty-four political newspapers, one illustrated journal, a monthly and a semi-monthly review, two comic papers, and fourteen trade-union publications, in addition to *Vorwärts*, the party's official organ.

But Bismarck, once the courteous and agreeable host of Lassalle, was now becoming the avowed enemy of the Social Democrats. Formerly perceiving in them a useful foil to the hated Progressives, he now recognized their growth as a grave menace to his newer national policies. On May 20, 1878, closely following an unsuccessful attempt of a madman to take the emperor's life, the chancellor, with the consent of the Bundesrat, introduced an anti-Socialist bill in the Reichstag. So serious were its proposed infringements of personal liberty, however, that it was promptly rejected by the decisive vote of 251 to 57. On June 2 another attempt was made to assassinate William I., and this time Bismarck did not try to win the existing Reichstag to his measure; taking advantage of the excitement throughout the country, he caused the Bundesrat to dissolve the inconvenient lower house and to order new elections. The ensuing campaign was waged on the single issue of the proposed coercion of the Socialists, and the government, in order to secure a popular verdict in its favor, spread broadcast throughout the empire the idea that the Socialists were enemies of Kaiser, country, morality, and the family, that they were inciting to murder, rapine, and most bloody revolution, that they were outlaws *de facto* and should be outlaws *de jure*. The bulk of the electorate responded to these charges by appropriate shiverings and tremblings and by choosing a compliant Reichstag, which on October 18 enacted the anti-Socialist bill by a vote of 221 to 149, the squeamish minority being composed chiefly of Centrists and Radicals.

It is not necessary to define again the general scope or the many details of this anti-Socialist law, which, through various re-enactments,¹⁶ remained in force until 1890, for these things are known to all students of German history. There are, however, certain aspects of the measure which have often been subordinated or quite neglected, but which, in view of their effects upon the German Social Democracy and likewise upon the empire as a whole, merit at least passing mention. In the first place, the tactics of Bismarck in securing the passage of the bill were largely responsible both for the popular fears of Socialism and for the resulting recoil from the Liberalism of the 'seventies to the Conservatism of the 'eighties. The electoral campaign of 1878 was the first occasion (though by no means the last) on which the government flaunted before the

¹⁶ The law as enacted in October, 1878, was to remain in force until March 31, 1881. It was re-enacted in May, 1880, to September 30, 1884; May, 1884, to September 30, 1886; April, 1886, to September 30, 1888; and February, 1888, to September 30, 1890.

eyes of patriotic, peace-loving, property-owning Germans the bogey of Socialism, the "red spectre" of mob violence, treason, and terrorism. So effective was this invocation of an imaginary demon, that Liberalism, if not Social Democracy, was immediately weakened,¹⁷ and Bismarck was thenceforth free to break his unnatural *liaison* with the Liberals and to return to his earlier Conservative love. The period from 1878 to 1890 was not only the period of the anti-Socialist law; it was also the period of Conservative rather than Liberal influence; its ideal was benevolent bureaucratic paternalism instead of individual liberty and national *laissez faire*; it was characterized by the establishment of tariff-protectionism, overseas imperialism, and Bismarckian State Socialism. So successful, indeed, was the electoral *coup* of 1878 that not only Bismarck himself but subsequent and less original chancellors found it expedient rather frequently to terrify the German people with the red rag of Socialism and thereby to elicit from them a verdict favorable to militarism, to tariff reform "upwards", to colonialism and *Welt-politik*, or to any other policy which an essentially unrepresentative government might at any time wish to foist upon the German nation.

In this way, the anti-Socialist law called an abrupt halt to the progress of liberty and democracy in the empire. In the late 'sixties and early 'seventies it had seemed as if united Germany was to play quite a different political rôle from historic Austria or Prussia. Universal equal suffrage had been introduced in the North German Confederation and extended to the empire. The North German Confederation had legalized coalitions and associations of artisans for trade purposes. The empire had adopted on May 7, 1874, a law on the freedom of the press, providing that neither the administration nor the courts could deprive any citizen of the right of carrying on any part of a publishing business and that the only limitations upon the exercise of this right should be such as would secure a fair amount of publicity and lessen national danger in time of war. A reaction against these liberal and democratic tendencies was foreshadowed by the anti-Catholic laws which attended the *Kulturkampf*. But the anti-Catholic laws were mainly *state* laws, while the anti-Socialist law was *federal*, and with the passage of the latter the reaction was in full swing. Associations, meetings, publications, and collections of money alike,

¹⁷ In the Reichstag, National Liberal deputies numbered 141 in 1877; 109 in 1878; 47 in 1881; and 42 in 1890. Progressive deputies numbered 39 in 1877; 29 in 1878; and 32 in 1887. The popular vote of the National Liberals, amounting in 1877 to 1,604,300, had decreased in 1878 to 1,486,800, and in 1890 to 1,177,800.

which "by means of Social Democratic, socialistic, or communistic designs, aim at the overthrow of the existing order of state or of society", were to be prohibited, and likewise such associations, meetings, publications, and collections of money in which these designs, though not the expressed object, appear "to endanger the public peace and in particular the harmony of the different classes of the population". The execution of the law was entrusted not to the regular courts but to the police authorities of the several states and, on appeal, to a special Imperial Commission composed of four members of the Bundesrat and five judges appointed by the emperor. A final section of the law contained the most reactionary provisions: whenever the "intrigues of the Socialists" promised "to endanger the public peace", the ministry of any state might, with the consent of the Bundesrat, arbitrarily suspend constitutional guarantees and decree a "lesser state of siege" (*i. e.*, police law).¹⁸

And the law was vigorously enforced! During the twelve years from 1878 to 1890, all public activities of the Social Democrats were stopped in Germany, except in the Reichstag and state legislatures; 352 associations were dissolved; 1299 publications were banned; the "lesser state of siege", proclaimed for periods at Berlin, Hamburg, Harburg, Leipzig, Frankfurt-am-Main, Hanau, Offenbach, Stettin, and Spremberg, led to the arbitrary expulsion of 893 persons, including 504 married men with 973 children dependent upon them; and imprisonments imposed by police authorities for violation of the measure aggregated 850 years, 5 months, and 19 days.¹⁹ But more grievous than the actual imprisonments and banishments under the anti-Socialist law was the fact that many of the people who in 1871 accounted themselves Liberal as well as National now gave support to arbitrary measures which certainly put Bismarck in a class with Metternich. The only difference between the assailants of popular liberties was that Metternich had no popular mandate for his acts while Bismarck commanded a majority of the deputies elected by universal direct suffrage throughout Germany. The German people of the new era must share with

¹⁸ An excellent analysis and criticism of the law is to be found in an article by Henry W. Farnam in the *Journal of the American Social Science Association*, XIII. 36-53 (1880). See also R. von Gneist, *Das Reichsgesetz gegen die Gemeingefährlichen Bestrebungen der Sozialdemokratie* (1878), and Bamberger, *Die Culturgeschichtliche Bedeutung des Socialistengesetzes* (second ed., 1879).

¹⁹ These statistics are cited in connection with the Socialists' observance of the 25th anniversary of the passage of the law. *Bericht des Parteivorstandes an den Parteitag zu Bremen in Protokoll* (1904), pp. 13-14.

their unrepresentative government the responsibility for a most serious set-back to liberty.

One other aspect of the anti-Socialist law invites our attention, and this is its effect upon the Social Democrats themselves. From first to last they submitted to the outrageous measure. They preached no violence, no rebellion. Smitten on one cheek, they turned the other cheerfully and dutifully. They seemed to be possessed of a holy joy, of an ecstatic other-worldly vision, like unto that of the early Christian martyrs. To their own traditions—those of Lassalle in the constitutional crisis of 1863, and of Liebknecht and Bebel in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870—they were absolutely true. They would be vocal but not violent. While the bill against them was pending in the Reichstag, *Vorwärts* printed at the top of every number the exhortation: "Party Comrades! Do not let yourselves be provoked to violence! The authorities are only anxious to shoot you down! The reaction needs riots in order to win its game."²⁰ With *Vorwärts* suppressed and with the party organization reduced to catacomb-like secrecy, the Socialists kept their passive form to the end. At the party congress held at St. Gall in Switzerland in October, 1887, they unanimously declared that

violence is as much a means of reaction as of revolution and in the past has been more often so used; the use of violence by individuals is not the sort of tactics which will lead to our goal, and, in so far as it wounds the sentiment of right among the masses, is positively to be condemned and accordingly rejected.²¹

It may well be that this persistently passive attitude of the Social Democrats in the face of their persecution was not unconnected with the growing devotion of their leaders during the period to Marxian, as opposed to Lassallean, principles, that is, to the fatalistic notion that the hardships and oppressions of capitalistic society simply cannot be prevented from accumulating and multiplying up to the day of the millennial cataclysm when the faithful will automatically be delivered from bondage and will enter into the Promised Land. Not from Bismarck or any other governmental potentate could salvation come, but only from the slow, painful, inevitable evolution of capitalism. At any rate, after 1880, Marxian tenets sank deeply into the German Socialist consciousness. The appearance of Friedrich Engels's *Herrn Eugen Dührings Umwäl-*

²⁰ Stegmann and Hugo, *Handbuch des Socialismus* (1897), art. "Socialistische Arbeiterpartei", p. 761.

²¹ *Verhandlungen des Parteitages der Deutschen Sozialdemokratie in St. Gallen abgehalten 2. bis 6. Oktober 1887.*

zung der Wissenschaft contributed to this end; and *Die Neue Zeit*, founded by Karl Kautsky in 1883, was conducted from the outset in a rigidly Marxian sense. The Gotha programme of 1875, as we have seen, was more Lassallean than Marxian, but in 1890, at the congress of Halle, the first held on German soil after the lapse of the anti-Socialist law, it was unanimously resolved that

Whereas the Gotha programme, however excellent it has proven itself in the struggles of the last fifteen years, is no longer abreast of the times in every respect, the party executive is hereby authorized and directed to propose a revised programme for consideration at the next congress.

The resulting Erfurt programme in its theoretical part not only disposed of Lassallean catchwords—the “iron law of wages” and the demand for co-operative productive associations—but, what was still more characteristic, it substituted for the universal and ethical features of Lassalle’s doctrine the historico-economic definition of Socialism which Marx had sketched in the Communist Manifesto and developed in *Das Capital*.²²

One might expect that as the German Social Democracy between 1875 and 1891 swung more and more from the teachings of Lassalle to those of Marx, the movement would take on an even more radical and “revolutionary” complexion. It is indeed true that while the German Socialists during the period of their persecution were holding their congresses outside of Germany they emphasized as never before or since the *international* character of their movement and the sacred solidarity of all the world’s workingmen. But, contrary to general expectations, several developments of the period tended to make the agitation in Germany even less radical and “revolutionary”.

In the first place, the forcible expulsion of the most radical leaders from Germany left the conduct of party affairs to the “moderates”, the particular friends of law and order. Many of the exiles never returned to Germany, and of those who did return a goodly number had acquired from an extended sojourn in England a real respect and admiration for the Fabian tactics of slow, quiet education.²³

Secondly, the Social Democratic leaders in Germany had discovered that the methods to be pursued in proselytizing from among the intelligent skilled workers in the trade-unions were less likely

²² Conrad Schmidt, “Condition of Social Democracy in Germany”, *Journal of Political Economy*, VI. 505 (1898).

²³ Eduard Bernstein is an excellent example of this type of Socialist exile from Germany. He resided in England from 1888 to 1902.

to bring them into conflict with the police and consequently to result in punishment under the anti-Socialist law than were the street-corner harangues addressed to the unskilled, unorganized, lowest-class workingmen. Numerical gains to the Socialist cause were far greater, during the period, from among trade-unionists—the “aristocracy of labor”—than from among the lowest orders of the laboring class. Trade-unionists turned naturally to Socialism as soon as the government impaired the right of association, but they were far less interested in the theoretical side of Socialism than in the practical. They were doubting Thomases about the paradise beyond the cataclysm and they were downright sceptical of what Georges Sorel has termed the “social myth” of the “general strike”; they were, however, intent upon exercising their political rights to the end that they might forthwith secure higher pay, shorter hours, and better working and living conditions. They rendered lip-service to the Marxian creed but at heart they were Lassalleans. They constituted a conservative bulwark to German Socialism.

Then, in the third place, it was during the period of the anti-Socialist law that the German Social Democracy began to draw to itself a number of *voters* far in excess of the number of its regularly enrolled *members*. In other words, it was during this time that many middle-class Germans, caring little or nothing about the purely economic dogmas or the ultimate goal of Socialism, began to cast votes for Social Democratic candidates for the Reichstag as the most obvious and direct rebuke to an illiberal and unrepresentative government, which was most seriously abridging the freedom of speech, of association, of meeting, and of the press. The contemporaneous decline of the National Liberal and Progressive parties was not due wholly to defections to conservatism; it illuminatingly paralleled the growth of the electoral strength of the Social Democrats. Thus, the popular vote for Socialist candidates, reduced to 312,000 in 1881, rose to 550,000 in 1884, to 763,100 in 1887, and to 1,427,300 in 1890; while the number of Socialist deputies in the Reichstag increased from nine in 1878 to thirty-five in 1890. The “extra members” of the German Social Democracy had no direct voice in the deliberations of the party congresses or in the decisions of the party executive, but as time went on there was a growing tendency on the part of congress and executive not to make decisions which would alienate votes and thereby lessen the influence which a steadily augmenting poll-strength might exert upon the reactionary government. The getting of votes was becom-

ing all-important; and indirectly middle-class liberals were pointing the Socialist party organization into the path of opportunism. And in seeming confirmation of the value of the peaceful tactics pursued by the party from 1878 to 1890 could be cited a sort of Socialist "prosperity" evidenced not only in an increase of votes but also in a remarkable increase of funds in the party treasury. At the Congress of Halle in 1890, August Bebel explained that the regular receipts had been 37,410 marks in 1880, 95,000 in 1883, 208,655 in 1887, and in the current year had risen to 324,322 marks, and that of the last amount over one-third had been saved; "the Socialist party", he added, in the midst of general hilarity, "become capitalistic, seeks good investments abroad for fear of confiscation at home".

Bebel should not have feared confiscation at home. Bismarck, it is true, still maintained that the only defect of the anti-Socialist law was its leniency, but neither the Reichstag nor William II. would hear of re-enacting it, to say nothing of making it more drastic, and this, despite the fact that the Social Democracy was a greater political force in 1890 than in 1878. So impressed was the young emperor with the importance of Socialism, that he sought to deal with it in a clement and kindly spirit.²⁴ His ousting of Bismarck in 1890 signified, so far as the Social Democrats were concerned, the passing of Diocletian and the coming of Constantine.

For the happy ending of their twelve years' bondage, the Social Democrats themselves ascribed the praise not to the favor of a clement prince but to their own energy and endeavors, and above all to the persistently peaceful tactics which they had employed. "No violence, no rebellion", was a slogan which in their opinion had amply justified itself in a most pragmatic test.

In 1890 the German Social Democracy came out of its catacombs, and at Halle inaugurated the series of great annual congresses which assembled regularly on German soil down to the Jena Congress of 1913. The public organization of the party, as we know it, with its five-member executive, its commission of control, its Reichstag group, its annual congress, its treasury, its affiliated trade-unions, its branches for women and for youths, and its official publications, was inaugurated at the Halle Congress of 1890 and perfected at the Mainz Congress of 1900. Its programme was revised and promulgated at the Erfurt Congress of 1891. The Ger-

²⁴ See on this point the *Memoirs* of Prince Hohenlohe and the *Reminiscences* of Prince Bismarck. It was in 1890 that William II. convened at Berlin the International Congress on Labor Legislation. Cf. *Europäischer Geschichtskalender* for 1890 and 1891.

man Social Democracy was prepared to resume the open propaganda which it had been obliged to abandon in 1878. But upon the purposes and methods of the propaganda after 1890, the persecutions of the preceding period, 1878-1890, left an indelible imprint.

Congress after congress repeated the formulas of Marxian Socialism—economic determinism, the class struggle, the inevitable social cataclysm of the future, demands for political democracy and for collective ownership and operation of all the economic means of production and distribution, unswerving opposition to the whole capitalistic system, particularly to indirect taxes, militarism, and imperialism. Nor was Marxian internationalism ever lost sight of. German Social Democrats were conspicuous in the councils of the Socialist International. The executive of the German party repeatedly voted appropriations and authorized the collection of special funds for the aid of comrades in other countries, in England, in Belgium, in Denmark, in Austria. The German party, while stigmatizing the Boer War as a barbarous and abominable war of conquest, combated manfully the growing Anglophobia in Germany. At the very time when the German "patriot" press was hypnotizing public opinion by the spectacle of British "atrocities" in South Africa, the Socialist press was exposing the atrocities of the allied troops in China, especially of the German contingent, in the biting sarcasmic "Letters of the Huns".²⁵

To make of the Marxian formulas living realities, it would not suffice to resort to violence and revolution. That was the capital lesson of the Era of Persecution. As Liebknecht said at the Congress of Erfurt:

If we should now accord chief importance to physical force, we should place ourselves in the position of our enemies. Bismarck was the man of brute force, the man of iron and blood. No one has ever employed greater means of force or acted in manner more unscrupulous. And the result? What has become of him? He had at his disposal for more than a quarter of a century the police, the army, the money, the power of the State, in short all the means of physical force, while we could oppose him only with our good right, our good conviction, our naked breasts—and *we* have conquered. Our arms have been the better. In time brute force must yield to the moral factors, to the logic of events. Bismarck retired in disgrace—and the Social Democracy is the strongest party in Germany. Is not this a potent proof of the value of our present tactics? . . . The essence of revolution does not lie in the means but in the end. Violence for thousands of years has been a reactionary factor.²⁶

No one in the party [said Bebel eight years later at the Congress of

²⁵ Milhaud, *La Démocratie Socialiste Allemande* (1903).

²⁶ *Protokoll des Parteitage* (1891), pp. 205-206.

Hanover] can have any doubt of what we think of violent revolution. It is absurd to admit that there is in our party a single person who would feel disposed to precipitate a revolution if he thought that he could attain his goal much better, much more easily, and much more simply. It is not revolutionaries who precipitate revolutions, but in each and every instance it has been reactionaries. [*Lively applause.*] Even the great Goethe said to his Eckermann that when revolution occurs the fault is wholly the government's; and I could cite you a dozen passages from writers, even from old Mommsen, who as a good classicist states in his *Roman History* that when a government shows itself incapable of fulfilling its duties in the interest of the great majority of the citizens, then it is right to precipitate a revolution, then the fault is not on the side of those who have recourse to violence but is on the side of those who have driven them to it. And, comrades, with us in Germany the bourgeoisie at all times has acted on this principle.²⁷

Here again the theorists and leaders were applying their historical fatalism. *Fata viam invenient*. For the future, let princes and chancellors be good or bad, favorable or not, it would matter little. The best Caesars could not prevent the Roman Empire from going to dissolution and ruin.²⁸

To be sure, the German governments did not take at full face value the peaceful protestations of the Socialists; they continued after the lapse of the anti-Socialist law to fight the movement with every weapon at their disposal. The Prussian State Secretary for the Interior directed his under-officials in 1893 to "oppose the progress of the Social Democracy by every possible means"; and the Saxon Minister of the Interior issued a circular instructing the local authorities, "in order to conform to the intentions of the government, to interpret any law which they might invoke against the Social Democrats according to political considerations".²⁹ In 1895 Liebknecht was condemned to four months' imprisonment for lèse-majesté for having declared at the Congress of Breslau that "Under cover of the highest power in the State, injury is done the Social Democracy; under the cover of the highest power in the State, the gauntlet is thrown down to our party and we are provoked to mortal combat". But the Social Democrats had already derived too many advantages from their martyrdoms really to wish a complete cessation of persecution after 1890. With an almost Christian boastfulness and mirth did they dwell upon the thought of bolts and bars, and of the rich electoral harvest that was to be reaped from the wide advertisement of their sufferings. Lieb-

²⁷ *Protokoll des Parteitage* (1899), p. 121.

²⁸ Cf. Bourdeau, *Le Socialisme Allemand et le Nihilisme Russe* (second ed., 1894), p. 86.

²⁹ *Protokoll des Parteitage* (1894), p. 28.

knecht gleefully paid the penalty for his crime of lèse-majesté during the winter of 1897-1898, and being released on March 18, the anniversary of the revolution of 1848, more gleefully still recounted his martyrdom to a monster mass-meeting held at Berlin in celebration of the event. "I can be content", he had already written, "with the Breslau trial. If Paris was worth a Mass, this trial was well worth four months in prison. The advantages which we derive from it have been a good bargain."³⁰ A conspicuous place in every annual report of the party executive, moreover, was reserved for an exhibit of the total terms of detention in workhouse and in prison, and of the total fines meted out to Socialist "martyrs". The exhibit was deemed an excellent bit of propaganda and at least until 1900 was quite imposing.³¹

Meanwhile, the German Social Democracy grew apace. Its popular vote increased to 1,786,700 in 1893, to 2,107,100 in 1898, and to 3,010,800 in 1903, while its deputies in the Reichstag numbered 44 in 1893, 56 in 1898, and 81 in 1903. As in the preceding period, a large part of its electoral increment came from "extra members"; but from regularly enrolled paying members the returns to the party treasury amounted in 1893 to 258,326 marks, in 1898 to 315,866, and in 1903 to 628,247.³² The causes of this noteworthy growth in votes and in financial resources are to be found in the marvellously rapid contemporaneous expansion of German trade and German industry, in the lapse of the anti-Socialist law, which

³⁰ *Der Prozess Liebknecht. Vorhandlung wegen Majestäts-Beleidigung vor dem Landgericht zu Breslau* (sixth ed., 1896), preface by Liebknecht, p. 5.

³¹ After 1900, the average fines remained about the same as before, but the terms of imprisonment tended to decrease in measure as the "loyalty" of the Socialists increased: 35 years in 1901; 68 years in 1906; 36 years in 1907, and in 1910; only 7 years and 8 months in 1912; and for the first six months of 1913, three years and three months! The statistics throughout are taken from the *Berichte des Parteivorstandes* to the several party congresses.

	Imprisonment					Fines	
	87 years, 6 months, 28 days					18,262 marks	
1891							
1892	117	"	0	"	26 "	20,532	"
1893	86	"	8	"	26 "	31,937	"
1894	58	"	8	"	6 "	43,747	"
1895	83	"	4	"	1 "	34,120	"
1896	84	"	8	"	8 "	31,773	"
1897	118	"	8	"	3 "	28,229	"
1898	54	"	7	"	10 "	19,948	"
1899	74	"	1	"	0 "	23,251	"
1900	71	"	3	"	23 "	16,427	"

³² The receipts of the party treasury further increased in 1908 to 852,976 marks and in 1913 to 1,469,718. The surplus of income over expenditure from 1891 to 1913 amounted to more than two million marks.

now rendered Socialist propaganda enormously easier and more effective, in the "martyr's pose" which the Social Democrats continued to assume and to utilize for arousing the sympathies of their liberally-minded fellow-citizens, in the perfecting of the organization of the allied "Red" trade-unions,³³ and, last but not least, in the changed circumstances of German foreign politics which now rendered it possible for the party for the first time in its history to make a "patriotic" appeal to the German people.

It must be remembered that the retirement of Bismarck in 1890 marked not only the end of exceptional legislation against the Social Democrats but also a momentous revolution in the empire's foreign policy. For more than a century Russia and Prussia had lived side by side in pretty amicable relations with each other, sometimes in formal alliance; and Socialists and Radicals alike had come to look upon a Russo-German *entente* as a mighty prop of "Tsarism" and "barbarism" and consequently as the gravest menace to political democracy and free institutions within the German Empire. Now, in 1890, William II., to Bismarck's chagrin but to the delight of Radicals and Socialists, broke with the Tsar and held out an affectionate hand to England. And then, in 1891, when open flirtation began between the Russian autocracy and the French Republic, the Social Democrats found themselves drawn willy-nilly into sympathy with, and even support of, the Triple Alliance. For example, Georg von Vollmar, the leading Bavarian Socialist, in two remarkable speeches at Munich in the summer of 1891, declared that, although the foreign policies of 1866 and 1870 were wrong, the party should not squander its force in incessant and fruitless discussions of the past; Germany was now quite pacific, and the Triple Alliance must be defended as the best guarantee of world peace. France alone, according to Vollmar, was too chauvinistic, and it was a disgusting spectacle "to see the French Republic coquetting with Russian Tsarism and barbarism"; the French Socialists who sincerely preached peace were certainly in a small minority and were absolutely unable to influence the chauvinistic majority of Frenchmen.

In any case [said Vollmar] we can render only service to all true friends of peace in France and elsewhere by giving them to understand

³³ A convenient summary of the relation of the "Red" trade-unions to the Social Democratic Party is given by Professor S. P. Orth in his *Socialism and Democracy in Europe* (1913), pp. 171-179, as well as statistics (p. 295) gathered from *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*. Cf. Schmoele, *Die Sozialdemokratischen Gewerkschaften in Deutschland seit dem Erlasse des Sozialistengesetzes* (1896 et seq.).

clearly and in a manner admitting of no doubt precisely what would be the attitude of the German Social Democracy in case of a declaration of war. If ever anywhere abroad it should be hoped that, in case of an attack directed against Germany, the aggressor could count on the German Social Democracy—in such hope one would be profoundly deceived. As soon as our country was attacked from without, there would be but a single party, and we Social Democrats would not be among the last to do our duty! And this duty we shall perform much more zealously if that enemy of all civilization—Russian barbarism—is involved.³⁴

In the discussion of these views of Vollmar, at the Erfurt Congress, Bebel, though dissenting from some of their implications, had this to say:

Concerning an offensive war against Germany and its consequences I have insisted that we, equally with the gentlemen of the government, are Germans. . . . The German soil, the German country belongs to us, the masses, as well as to them. If Russia, the citadel of cruelty and barbarism, the foe of all human civilization, should attack Germany in order to weaken and dismember her—and such a war could have no other aim—we should have as much or more at stake than those who are at the head of Germany, and we would resist the aggressor. I have also insisted that if we should thus fight side by side with those who to-day are our adversaries, we would do so not to save them and their political and social order, but to deliver Germany, that is, *ourselves* and *our* soil, from a barbarian who is the greatest enemy of our aspirations and whose victory would signify our defeat as Socialists.³⁵

The international events of 1890–1891 served likewise to silence Socialist protests against the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. Already at the International Congress at Paris in 1889 the Socialist delegates from those provinces had declared that their doctrines obliged them to repudiate the idea of a war of revenge; and now the whole German Social Democracy persuaded itself that the annexation, originally outrageous, was nevertheless a *fait accompli*, and that Socialistic internationalism, by gradually effacing all distinctions between Germans and Frenchmen, would be the surest and best solution of the problem.³⁶

Now that the German Social Democracy was moved to accept the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine as a *fait accompli* and to extol

³⁴ Georg von Vollmar, *Ueber die Nächsten Aufgaben der Deutschen Sozialdemokratie: zwei Reden gehalten am 1. Juni und 6. Juli 1891 in "Eldorado" zu München* (1891), pp. 9–10. Vollmar cited as confirmation of his position remarks of Liebknecht in the Reichstag on November 28, 1888, and on May 16, 1891, and in the Congress of Halle on October 15, 1890, of Bebel in the Reichstag on June 25, 1890, and of Auer in the Reichstag on December 3, 1890, and February 9, 1891.

³⁵ *Protokoll des Parteitag* (1891), p. 285.

³⁶ Edgard Milhaud, *La Démocratie Socialiste Allemande* (1903), pp. 261–262.

the Triple Alliance as a bulwark of world peace, why should it not co-operate with other *national* German parties in voting military budgets which would guarantee the efficacy of the Triple Alliance and prevent any war of conquest on the part of Russia or of *revanche* on the part of France? Some German Social Democrats perceived the logic in such reasoning and advised action accordingly. At the Hamburg Congress of 1897, Max Schippel, the reporter of the Reichstag group, said:

We have not approved of the soldiers, but there they are. For our proposals in favor of a militia and the abolition of all standing armies, no majority is available at present or in the near future. This is a fact which is surely disagreeable to us but with which we must reckon. Because the bourgeois parties do not share our opinion in this matter, must we expose the German workingmen, as if for punishment, to the risk of having to pay with their blood for the lack of intelligence of our opponents? Such behavior would be idiotic and absolutely contrary to the interests of the working class.³⁷

Replying to critics, Schippel admitted that "the existing government thrives on war" but emphasized the ever-present possibility of war.

If one cannot prevent wars, nevertheless one cannot give our soldiers bad rifles, bad cannon. . . . If the militaristic system drives us to a war which we cannot prevent, if we suffer a defeat, and if the blood of our German proletariat doubly flows, I believe that we shall all be reproached by the government for not having taken the necessary precautions at the right moment.³⁸

Though the utterances of Schippel were not well received by the majority of the delegates to the congress, they evoked an eloquent defense from Ignatz Auer, the Bavarian Socialist, who dwelt upon the necessity of adequate military preparedness against Russian "barbarism". And when, in the ensuing electoral campaign, it was felt necessary to disprove accusations of anti-patriotism, several Social Democratic candidates intimated to their constituents a ready willingness to compromise on the old question of militarism and on the new question of navalism. Said Auer at Hanover on February 9, 1898:

We can approve nothing of the government so long as we are not recognized as a factor possessing equal rights in parliamentary and public life. But if the working class is recognized as possessing equal rights, then will the tasks of this class increase and likewise its responsibility; and it is indeed quite possible that from the day on which the workingman perceives himself a factor possessing equal rights we shall allow ourselves to speak on the naval question. Only for the present must we on principle refuse to vote "a single man, a single penny".

³⁷ *Protokoll des Parteitag*es (1897), pp. 121-122.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

On the following day, Wolfgang Heine, candidate at Berlin, expressed his belief that for the present and the immediate future the attitude of the party would be the same as formerly, but he did not perceive in the refusal of military credits a question of principle and thought the time would come when the party might grant them in return for definite political concessions.

Do ut des. We give military credits to the Government; the Government thereupon grants us new liberties. . . . The "policy of compensations" has worked advantageously for the Catholic Centre, why not for the Social Democracy?³⁹

Was the German Social Democracy, in gaining two million voters, losing its own Marxian soul? A certain group of its adherents hoped so; to them a Lassalleian opportunism appeared more substantially spiritual (if the expression may be used) than the dogmas of Marx. They would not repudiate the gospel according to Marx or deny their own Marxian profession of faith made at the Congress of Erfurt; they would simply "interpret" and "revise" the gospel; they would merely apply the principles of private judgment and modernistic reason to the proper understanding of the Erfurt symbol. This tendency, inchoate in the early 'nineties, reached fruition in the influential sect of "Revisionism" largely through the writings of Eduard Bernstein, especially his *Probleme des Sozialismus*, which appeared in serial form in *Die Neue Zeit* in 1896-1897,⁴⁰ and his *Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Sozialdemokratie*, published in book form in 1899. Without pausing to indicate the manifold changes in tactics which Revisionism involved, it may be remarked that the essence of the new movement was the denial of the "catastrophic" doctrine of Marxism.

I confess freely [wrote Bernstein] that I have extremely little feeling for, or interest in, what is commonly spoken of as "the ultimate goal of Socialism". This goal, whatever it may be, is for me absolutely nothing; the movement itself is everything. And I mean by the movement as much the general movement of society, that is, social progress,

³⁹ These remarks of Heine and Auer (and much else that is interesting in this connection) were reported to the Hanover Congress. *Protokoll des Parteitages* (1899), p. 250.

⁴⁰ There were four of these articles, all in vol. XV., pt. I., of *Die Neue Zeit*: (1) "Allgemeines über Utopismus und Eklektizismus" (October 28, 1896), pp. 164-171; (2) "Eine Theorie der Gebiete und Grenzen des Kollektivismus" (November 4, 1896), pp. 204-213; (3) "Der Gegenwärtige Stand der Industriellen Entwicklung in Deutschland" (November 25, 1896), pp. 303-311; (4) "Die Neuere Entwicklung der Agrarverhältnisse in England" (March 10, 1897), pp. 772-783. Bernstein, it must be remembered, was at this time in England; he did not return to Germany until 1902.

as the political and economic agitation and organization for the purpose of realizing this progress. . . . In securing a good factory law, Socialism can accomplish more than in the public ownership of a whole group of factories.⁴¹

Bernstein's Revisionism was at once championed by some of the party's ablest publicists, such as Dr. Conrad Schmidt, Dr. Woltmann, and Dr. Eduard David, and by such an astute political leader as Vollmar; and it proved powerfully attractive to the allied trade-unions.⁴² Nevertheless it was denounced by Karl Kautsky,⁴³ the editor of *Die Neue Zeit* and premier theorist of the party, and also by Rosa Luxemburg,⁴⁴ the dominating personage in the women's Socialist movement; and, after acrid debates at the Hanover Congress of 1899 and at the Lübeck Congress of 1901, it was formally condemned at the latter congress as a "heresy". For a few years at the opening of the twentieth century it seemed as if the German Social Democracy was reacting strongly against Revisionism. It was the time when the party dallied with the idea of the "general strike" and contended vigorously against the imperialist policies of the government.

The main impetus to the dallying with "direct action" as opposed to orderly parliamentary agitation came from the putative success of the general strike in Russia which wrung from the Tsar the ambiguous constitution of October, 1905. Throughout western Europe there was a new impatience with parliamentary delays, and in Germany the impotence of the Social Democratic members of the Reichstag, in spite of the three million votes behind them, seemed intolerable. Why should not the German Socialists learn a lesson from their Russian comrades and seek to realize their political and economic aims, seek, moreover, to prevent international war, by utilizing the methods of revolutionary syndicalism? So queried Rosa Luxemburg and Liebknecht the Younger. It was the first serious attempt in thirty years to divert and subvert the Socialist movement by an anarchistic agitation from within.⁴⁵ And when rumor spread that the German government was concerting measures

⁴¹ "Der Kampf der Sozialdemokratie und die Revolution der Gesellschaft. II. Die Zusammenbruchs-Theorie und die Kolonialpolitik", in *Die Neue Zeit*, vol. XVI., pt. I., p. 556, January 19, 1898.

⁴² It is not without significance that Revisionism affected Socialist trade-unionism in Germany at about the same time as the British trade-unions were being drawn into a political alliance with Socialist groups to form the British "Labor Party", which put its emphasis upon practice rather than upon theory.

⁴³ *Bernstein und das Sozialdemokratische Programm* (1899).

⁴⁴ *Sozialreform oder Revolution?* (1899).

⁴⁵ Ensor, *Modern Socialism* (second ed., 1908), introd.

with the Tsar for the suppression of the Russian revolution, the apostles of revolutionary syndicalism temporarily became very influential. The Jena Congress of 1905 endorsed the principle of the general strike "in case of an attack upon universal, equal, direct, and secret suffrage or upon the right of combination".⁴⁶ But the German trade-unionists in their congress at Cologne overwhelmingly rejected the principle: they were unwilling to sacrifice their accumulated funds and endanger their own livelihood by bearing the brunt of a struggle which, whatever good it might do the Russian democracy, was not likely to be of considerable immediate service to themselves individually. Under pressure from the trade-unionists, the Socialist Congress at Mannheim in 1906 reopened the question and in the protracted, bitter debate which ensued, August Bebel threw all his prestige and oratorical gifts into the scale on the side of the trade-unionists and other advocates of "moderation" and "parliamentary action".

Very few of you, comrades [said Bebel on that occasion], have experienced a great war. You have no notion of the situation on the outbreak of war in 1870. Of course we have grown much stronger since then, but the forces at the disposal of the anti-Socialists have grown too. ["*Quite right!*"] Above all, the nature of military armament has completely changed. Who believes that at a moment when a violent shock, a fever, is moving the masses to their very depths, when the danger of a gigantic war with its appalling misery confronts us—who believes that at such a moment it is possible to institute a general strike? ["*Quite right!*"] The idea is childish. From the first day of such a war there march under arms in Germany five million men including many hundreds of thousands of our party comrades. The entire nation is in arms. Frightful want, universal unemployment, starvation, stoppage of factories, fall of paper securities—is it credible that at such a moment when each is thinking only of himself, one could institute a general strike? ["*Very good!*"] If any leaders of the party were so senseless as to institute a general strike on such a day, martial law would at once be extended, along with the mobilization, over the whole of Germany, and decisions would then pass from the civil courts to the courts martial. I have often heard it said—and I think it probable because in governmental circles it is supposed that the Social Democrats could be crazy enough to take such a course—I have often heard it said that exalted persons have long nursed the idea of preparing the same fate for all the leaders of the Social Democracy as was meted out in 1870 to the members of our party executive. If you think that in such a case our adversaries will exercise any clemency, you are mistaken; I think it inconceivable that in any such case any should be expected. Things are different with us from things in other countries. Germany is a kind of state like unto no other. That may

⁴⁶ *Handbuch der Sozialdemokratischen Parteitage von 1863-1909* (ed. Wilhelm Schröder, 1910), p. 306.

be taken as a compliment, but it is the truth; and this truth we must keep in sight, and direct our affairs accordingly. [*"Quite right!"*]⁴⁷

Bebel and the trade-unionists carried the day at Mannheim;⁴⁸ and at the international congresses of 1907, 1910, and 1912, the majority of the German delegates renewed their opposition to the general strike.⁴⁹

Parallel with the debates in the Socialist congresses on the practicability of the general strike, went debates in the Reichstag and in the press on the changed tendencies of German foreign policy: the new imperialism and "world power", and the rapid increase of military and naval armaments. Into these debates the Social Democrats entered with enthusiasm and unanimity, denouncing the Chinese expedition of 1900, the Bagdad railway concessions, the spectacular entry of the Kaiser into the Moroccan imbroglio in 1905, the outrages committed by German soldiers in suppressing the Southwest African revolt in 1905-1906, and the constant threats of armed force with which the emperor and Chancellor von Bülow sought to widen the sphere of Germany's participation in world politics and in economic exploitation.⁵⁰ It was because the Socialist group in the Reichstag made common cause with the Centrists in 1906 in refusing appropriations deemed necessary for the suppression of the African revolt, that the government dissolved the lower house and decreed the fateful elections of January, 1907. The decisive nature of the impending elections was clearly stated in the electoral address of the Social Democrats:

You have now to choose new deputies at the polls, in accordance with your opinions, not merely upon the position in Southwest Africa, but upon our entire policy at home and abroad. The situation is serious, very serious. After a thirty-five years' existence the German Empire finds itself in almost complete isolation. For the last fifteen years there has been no lack of speeches and trips made in many potentates' countries, no lack of presents made to the most diverse nations. But the result of all these unsought assurances of love and affection is that to-day German policy is regarded with distrust by almost every foreigner, and Germany instead of friends has scarcely any but covert or overt enemies. Consequently, the world-situation is such that despite all the peace-loving assurances which ruling sovereigns give on occasion after occasion, armaments by land and sea are

⁴⁷ *Protokoll des Parteitage* (1906), pp. 240-241; cf. Ensor, *Modern Socialism* (second ed., 1908), p. 195.

⁴⁸ The Mannheim Resolution was worded as a compromise; in effect it was a defeat for Rosa Luxemburg and her party. Cf. Wilhelm Schröder, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

⁴⁹ Walling, *The Socialists and the War* (1915), pp. 30-49.

⁵⁰ See Parvus, *Die Kolonialpolitik und der Zusammenbruch* (1907), and Gustav Noske, *Kolonialpolitik und Sozialdemokratie* (1914).

continually reinforced, the debts of nations and their loads of taxes are continually mounting up, and a feeling of anxiety, as at the advent of an immense catastrophe, continually strengthens its hold on the civilized peoples and forbids them peacefully enjoying the fruits of their labor. . . . [Instead of arbitration and disarmament] we see the ruling classes and their solution, "If you want peace, you must be armed for war", with which they carry on their policy of embittering nations in order to maintain their own class-rule in domestic affairs. The military and naval armaments serve to enrich them. Besides, they cherish the thought on the sly that nations kept in constant anxiety about a grasping and warlike neighbor do not apply themselves to improve their social conditions as they otherwise could and would. This policy of international ruin, in which Germany to-day sets the pace, we have hitherto most decidedly opposed, and we shall continue to oppose it.⁵¹

Again the government invoked the red demon of revolutionary and traitorous Socialism; again Conservatives and National Liberals, "patriots" of every stamp, rallied in defense of family, morality, country, Kaiser, and God, and incidentally of a very vigorous foreign and world policy; and again when the votes were counted it was discovered that the Social Democrats had suffered a signal defeat. True, the Social Democrats had gained 248,200 popular votes over their number in the general election of 1903, but their representation in the Reichstag, thanks to the adroitness of Bülow⁵² and the co-operation of the various bourgeois parties, had been cut from eighty-one to forty-three.⁵³

The national verdict of 1907 had a most sobering and moderating effect upon the German Social Democracy. The party, which for all practical purposes had repudiated the general strike, now found the realization of its one remaining hope—majority control of the Reichstag—further off than at any time since 1890. This sad discovery dampened the ardor of extreme Marxists and galvanized the Revisionists into greater activity. Without moving for the withdrawal of the ban promulgated against them at Lübeck in 1901, the Revisionists now slowly but surely communicated much of their "heresy" to the entire party. A much larger delegation in the Reichstag must be obtained. For this purpose a phenomenal increase in the succeeding popular elections must be secured. To this end the party must not alienate well-organized trade-unionists

⁵¹ Signed by seventy-eight Social Democratic deputies in the Reichstag and published in *Vorwärts*, December 16, 1906. Translation in Ensor, *Modern Socialism*, pp. 370-371.

⁵² Prince von Bülow in his *Imperial Germany* gives a naively candid account of his remarkable activities and manoeuvres in the epochal elections of 1907.

⁵³ For an admirable explanation of the elections from the standpoint of the leading Revisionist, see Bernstein, "The German Elections and the Social Democrats", in the *Contemporary Review*, XCI. 479-492 (April, 1907).

or enlightened middle-class sympathizers. Accordingly, cataclysms and other disquieting bits of the Marxian system must be pushed into the background; a too unpatriotic attitude eschewed; and the party, in pursuit of all-important votes, must hold to practical exigencies—educational reform, extension of the right of association, direct and progressive taxation, universal direct suffrage extended to Prussia as it already existed for the empire, reduction of the hours of labor, increase of wages, protection against oppressive factory regulations. Though the Social Democrats both in the Reichstag and in their congresses continued to support arbitration and disarmament and to criticize the government for what they called its dangerous foreign policies,⁵⁴ nevertheless there could be little doubt that from 1907 to 1914 the tide was running ever stronger toward moderation and compromise.

In the matter of imperialism—so significant in the elections of 1907—there was noticeable shifting. The historic attitude of the Marxian Socialists had been expressed at the International Congress of London in 1896 in a resolution declaring that “Whatever may be the pretext of colonial politics, whether it be religion, or the advancement of civilization, it is in reality nothing but the extension of the field of capitalistic exploitation in the exclusive interest of the capitalist class”. Now, at the International Congress of Stuttgart in 1907, most of the Socialists of nations possessing colonies voted to modify the policy; and of the Germans, Karl Kautsky and Georg Ledebour wished to reaffirm the London Resolution, but Eduard Bernstein and Eduard David, supported by the trade-union leaders, were anxious to discard it.

The increasing toleration of imperialism was after all but a natural corollary to earlier Revisionist influence upon the question of “protectionism *versus* free trade”. At the German Congress of Stuttgart in 1898, Kautsky had insisted that free trade is a Socialist “principle”, but Max Schippel, ably seconded by Vollmar and Wolfgang Heine, had held it to be a mere matter of “tactics”; the resolution adopted at that time was Kautsky’s with an important qualifying amendment introduced by Bebel in order to conciliate the Revisionists: free trade was indeed a “principle”, but “eventualities might arise in which it would be legitimate to accord some

⁵⁴ There is an illuminating résumé of these endeavors of the Social Democrats in the *Bericht der Reichstagsfraktion* in the *Protokoll des Parteitages* (1911), pp. 129–133, and in the *Verhandlungen des Reichstags*, XII. Legislaturperiode, II. Session, Band 266, *Stenographische Berichte*, 159. Sitzung am 30. März 1911, especially the speeches by Scheidemann, Frank (Mannheim), and David.

measure of protection". Ambiguities were deemed preferable to party splits. Even "principles" must not be exalted above the requirements of vote-getting.

So chastening was the effect of the elections of 1907 upon the German Social Democracy that Bebel himself became something of a champion of the government in spite of its high-handed methods of combating his party. On the very morrow of the elections Bebel declared at the International Congress of Stuttgart that

affairs are no longer in such shape that the threads of a war catastrophe are hidden to educated and observing students of politics. Closet diplomacy has ceased to be. . . . The war party, to be sure, is small with us Germans and has no adherents in governmental circles. . . . In the ruling classes of Germany nobody wants war, partly out of regard for the existence of the Socialist movement. Prince Bülow himself conceded to me that the authorities know what great dangers for government and society lie in a European war, and therefore would avoid it if possible.⁵⁵

Another effect of the elections of 1907 upon the German Social Democracy was to settle beyond doubt the much-mooted question of co-operation with bourgeois parties in electoral campaigns. Bernstein had advocated such a policy as early as 1893,⁵⁶ but it had been condemned by the Cologne Congress in that year. It had been debated, with special reference to the curious three-class electoral system in Prussia, at the Hamburg Congress of 1897 and at the Stuttgart Congress of 1898, but without decisive results. At the Hanover Congress of 1899, largely under Revisionist influence, the following resolution was adopted:

In order to reach its goal, the party utilizes every means which, in harmony with its fundamental principles, promises it success. Without entertaining any illusions concerning the character and methods of bourgeois parties, representatives and defenders of the existing political and social order, it does not refuse in a given instance to co-operate with certain of them whenever it is a question of strengthening the party at elections, of extending the political rights and liberties of the people, of ameliorating in a serious way the social condition of the working class, of favoring the accomplishment of the duties of civilization, or of combating projects hostile to the working class and the people. But the party guards above all, in its activity, its complete autonomy and independence and considers each success which it achieves only as a step which brings it nearer its ultimate goal.⁵⁷

Next year the Mainz Congress applied this general principle specifically to the impending Prussian elections:

⁵⁵ Walling, *The Socialists and the War*, pp. 30-31.

⁵⁶ *Die Neue Zeit*, vol. XI., pt. II., pp. 772-778 (1892-1893).

⁵⁷ *Protokoll des Parteitage* (1899), p. 67.

In all the German states in which exists the three-class electoral system, the members of the party are bound at the next elections to take part in the campaign with their secondary electors. For the elections to the Prussian Landtag the party executive forms the central electoral committee, and without its approval the members of the party in the several electoral districts must make no coalitions with bourgeois parties.⁵⁸

Relatively slight use was made of these formal authorizations while the Marxists seemingly had the upper hand, from 1901 to 1907, but the great success of the coalitions effected by other parties against the Social Democrats in 1907 was a lesson to be taken to heart by the defeated party.

Under these circumstances came the general elections of 1912. This time the Social Democrats were quite restrained in denunciation of imperialism, militarism, and foreign policies; they confined their efforts to attacks upon the unpopular Finance Act of 1909; and, in order to break the "Blue-Black Block", their party executive made arrangements to co-operate on the second balloting with the *Fortschrittliche Volkspartei*. The latter promised to support the former in thirty-one constituencies, and the former were to reciprocate in sixteen constituencies. By this means, the party executive estimated that it gained at least sixteen deputies more than it otherwise would have had.⁵⁹ The total gains of the German Social Democracy in 1912 went far to remove the stigma of the 1907 defeat and to justify the "moderate" tactics which of late the party had been following, for its popular vote increased from 3,259,000 to 4,250,300, and its representation in the Reichstag from 43 to 110.⁶⁰

Only a few facts and impressions concerning the German Social Democracy after 1912 need now detain us. The "victory" of 1912 was a victory less of Marxian doctrines throughout Germany than of Revisionist, opportunist tactics within the Social Democratic party. The number of Socialist votes polled in the empire was indeed four and a quarter millions; yet the number of regularly enrolled members of the party—presumably the *bona fide* proletarians—was but 970,112, and of this number over 130,000 were women⁶¹ and perhaps as many more were males under the voting age of 25. And of the enrolled members, a majority were trade-

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* (1900), p. 241.

⁵⁹ *Bericht des Parteivorstandes an den Parteitag zu Chemnitz 1912 in Protokoll*, pp. 29-31.

⁶⁰ For electoral statistics, 1871-1912, see Cl. v. Stumpf-Brentano, *Ravenssteins Reichstags-Wahlkarte des Deutschen Reichs* (1912).

⁶¹ *Bericht des Parteivorstandes an den Parteitag zu Chemnitz 1912*. At the Jena Congress of 1913, the number of members was reported as 982,850, including 141,115 women.

unionists, far more Lassallean than Marxist in general outlook, while their Reichstag representatives, frantically endeavoring to bridge the wide gulf between the voting-strength and the membership-strength of the party, were ever veering toward opportunist tactics.

At the very first session of the newly-elected Reichstag, the Marxist wing fell back almost pathetically but quite naturally upon fatalism and abhorrence of violence. As Ledebour expressed it:

All Social Democrats know that Socialism must come as a result of historical necessity, as an inevitable result of economic development. . . . But I warn you, do not have recourse to force! You would thereby but invoke a terrible penalty for yourselves and the whole capitalistic society.⁶²

And Hugo Haase, on whom the mantle of Bebel was about to fall, quoted Lassalle's dicta against violent revolutions, and endorsed Kautsky's statements:

If I speak of war as a means of revolution, that does not say that I desire war. Its horrors are so terrible that to-day it is only military fanatics whose ghastly courage could lead them to demand a war in cold blood. But even when revolution is not a means to an end, but an end in itself, which even at the most bloody price could not be too dearly purchased, still one cannot desire war as a means of unshackling revolution.⁶³

To the rising anti-Russian feeling which was now gradually over-spreading all Germany, the Social Democrats, in consonance with their traditions and principles, could contribute, and in its popularity they could share. In 1912 they talked much about the need of a *rapprochement* between Germany on the one side and France and Great Britain on the other in order to curb the ambitions of "Tsarism and Russian barbarism". For example, Eduard David, speaking in the Reichstag on foreign policy, after qualifying his praise of the Triple Alliance by the statement that "if perchance Austria should attack Serbia and Russia should hasten to Serbia's assistance, we should not be bound by the engagements of the Alliance to take up arms", went on to say that "the division of the Western European powers had led to the situation where Russia could reach out unhindered in all directions for new masses of land and likewise could assume a most threatening attitude in the Balkan question".⁶⁴

⁶² *Verhandlungen des Reichstags*, XIII. Legislaturperiode, I. Session, Band 286, *Stenographische Berichte*, 75. Sitzung am 2. Dezember 1912, p. 2483.

⁶³ Quoted from Kautsky's *Die Soziale Revolution*, p. 58, in *Stenographische Berichte*, Band 286, p. 2534.

⁶⁴ *Bericht der Reichstagsfraktion an den Parteitag zu Jena 1913*.

It was out of the Balkan conflicts of 1912-1913 and the resulting upset of the balance of power as between Russia and Austria-Hungary, it must be remembered, that the gigantic "preparedness" movement of 1913, common to all Europe, proceeded. Against the German Army Bill of 1913, providing for an increase of 19,000 officers and 117,000 men in the peace establishment, the Social Democrats in the Reichstag voted *en bloc*; but when it came to the question of furnishing funds to render the Army Bill operative, the same Social Democrats discovered "principles" whereby they were enabled for the first time in their history to vote in favor of increased taxes for military purposes.⁶⁵ The "principles" were discoverable in the fact that the government proposed to raise the required funds mainly by direct progressive taxation of the rich.⁶⁶ In effect, the party was inverting the old maxim and proclaiming that "the means justify the end".

The "tactics" of the Reichstag group were exposed to the Jena Congress of 1913:

The existing situation in the Reichstag forced us to vote in favor of these laws. Even if by chance the special levy should be passed without our votes, it would hardly be so with the property-tax law. In fact it is highly probable that the Conservatives, the Poles, and a part of the Centrists would vote against the property tax, which would mean its defeat. Then there would be two possibilities: either the dissolution of the Reichstag, or the postponement of the question of taxation until autumn. To be sure, every one of us would gladly [!] go to the country for election to a new Reichstag. But we should enter the campaign under very unfavorable conditions. We should be rightly accused of having defeated national direct taxes although we had always demanded them. It is likely that the group would suffer a noteworthy shrinkage,—an eventuality which could not be risked in view of the approaching revision of the tariff.⁶⁷

The caucus of the Reichstag group had adopted this view by a vote of 52 to 37, with seven abstentions; and at the congress it was endorsed by a vote of 336 to 140, the majority including Bernstein,

⁶⁵ The question of voting *any* budget proposed by a non-Socialist government had long been a mooted one with the German Social Democrats. Acceptance of such budgets had been advocated particularly by Vollmar and Anton Fendrich ("Zur Frage der Budgetbewilligung" in *Socialistische Monatshefte*, vol. V., pt. II., pp. 649-661, September, 1901), and opposed by Bebel and Rosa Luxemburg ("Die Badische Budgetabstimmung" in *Die Neue Zeit*, vol. XIX., pt. II., pp. 14-20, April 6, 1901), and debated in the congresses of 1894 and 1901. At Lübeck in 1901 it was resolved to vote against budgets in order to express "lack of confidence", but to admit of occasional exceptions.

⁶⁶ See the apology of Hermann Wendel, a Socialist deputy for Saxony in the Reichstag, in the *New Review*, I. 765-771 (1913).

⁶⁷ *Bericht der Reichstagsfraktion an den Parteitag zu Jena 1913 in Protokoll*, pp. 169-170.

David, Frank, Göhre, Liebknecht, Scheidemann, Südekum, Weill, and Wendel, and the minority counting Geyer, Ledebour, Rosa Luxemburg, Stadthagen, and Klara Zetkin.⁶⁸

The German Social Democrats, especially the radical minority, did their best to convince their foreign comrades that the action of the Jena Congress in approving the stand of the Reichstag group on the question of the military budget could not be construed as an endorsement of militarism. Karl Liebknecht's celebrated Krupp "revelations" of 1913 were continued and enlarged in May, 1914. The "Zabern affair" was repeatedly exploited in the Reichstag,⁶⁹ Wendel going so far in May, 1914, as to conclude a speech with the words, *Vive la France*. Similarly exploited was the prosecution of Rosa Luxemburg on the charge of libelling the army.⁷⁰ And when the Great War actually threatened, *Vorwärts* fairly fulminated against the impending disaster. In an extra edition published on July 25, 1914, a proclamation of the party executive in bold black-faced type denounced "Austrian imperialism bringing death and destruction to all Europe". "However much we condemn the deeds of the Pan-Serb nationalists", it went on to say,

the frivolous war-provocation of the Austro-Hungarian government demands at any rate our sharpest protest. . . . No drop of blood of a single German soldier may be sacrificed to the ambition of an Austrian potentate in the interest of imperialistic gains. . . . The governing classes who in peace gag, despise, and exploit you, will use you as cannon-fodder. Everywhere must sound in the ears of the potentates: We wish no war! Down with war! Long live the international brotherhood of the peoples!

In the din of the clash of arms, the voice of protest, of "international brotherhood", was swiftly silenced. Indeed the party executive hardly awaited the outbreak of war to sound a different note in another proclamation in *Vorwärts*.⁷¹

The frightful self-slaughter of the European nations is the cruellest confirmation of what we have long but vainly declared. . . . Yet not with fatalistic indifference shall we live through the coming events. We shall remain true to our cause, we shall hold firmly together, inspired by the greatness of our cultural mission. . . . The strenuous prohibitions of martial law affect with fearful force the workingmen's movement. Indiscretions, needless and foolish sacrifices, may disgrace at this moment not only the individual but likewise our cause.

⁶⁸ *Protokoll* (1913), pp. 171, 515-516.

⁶⁹ See the *Stenographische Berichte* of the sittings of November 28 and December 3-4, 1913, January 23-24, and May 14-15, 1914.

⁷⁰ This was just on the eve of the outbreak of the war. She was finally found guilty and sentenced to one year's imprisonment, beginning in March, 1915. See Walling, *The Socialists and the War* (1915).

⁷¹ *Vorwärts*, August 1, 1914.

Then came, on August fourth, the voting of the first war loan by the Reichstag. From what has already been indicated of the Socialist movement in Germany, no surprise should be evoked by the fact that the Social Democratic group voted "aye", nor by the statement which Chairman Haase read to the Reichstag in justification of the patriotism of his party:

Now we are only too surely confronted by the fact that war is upon us and that we are menaced by the terror of foreign invasion. The problem before us now is not the relative advisability of war or peace, but a consideration of just what steps must be taken for the protection of our country. . . . As far as our people and their independence are concerned, much, if not everything, would be endangered by a triumph of autocratic Russia, already weltering in the blood of her own noblest sons. It devolves upon us, therefore, to avert this danger, to defend the civilization and independence of our native land. Therefore we must to-day justify what we have always said. In its hour of danger Germany may ever rely upon us.⁷²

Into the subsequent developments of German Social Democracy it is impossible to go with any degree of assurance. It seemed by 1917 as if the party was hopelessly split. One little group, headed by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, had maintained continuous and consistent opposition to the war, but Liebknecht in voting "no" on the second war loan (December 2, 1914) had committed a breach of party discipline and had accordingly been reprimanded by a vote of sixty-five to twenty-six; and this "willful" group had been pretty effectually silenced by the thickness of prison walls. A larger group—the so-called "Minority Socialists"—supported the government so long as the war was obviously defensive against Russia, but as soon as it appeared to them to be waged primarily against England and France, and for conquest, they refused further credits in the Reichstag and became apostles of peace in the country: this group, though it included some of the most eminent Socialists in Germany, such as the great theorist Kautsky, the Revisionist leader Bernstein,⁷³ Haase, the successor of Bebel, Franz Mehring, the historian of the party, and Ledebour, was unable to control more than a fifth of the Socialist members of the Reichstag; claiming to be the true custodians of the gospel according to Marx and of the epistles of Lassalle, its members at length in 1916 broke with the Social Democratic Party and formed

⁷² Walling, *The Socialists and the War*, pp. 143-144; cf. La Chesnais, *Le Groupe Socialiste du Reichstag et la Déclaration de Guerre* (1915).

⁷³ Bernstein was the only Revisionist of note who joined the "Minority Socialists". His attitude was no doubt determined in large part by his great admiration for England.

a rival organization. The secession of the "Minority Socialists" left the Opportunists and Revisionists in complete control of the party, which was now "pro-war" and undoubtedly "patriotic".

As early as August 21, 1914, Philipp Scheidemann expressed the view which was to dominate the Majority Socialists, of whom he was to become the leader.

When France, republican France, [he wrote] has allied herself with Russian autocracy for the purpose of murder and destruction, it is difficult to conceive that England, parliamentary England, democratic England, is fighting side by side with them for "liberty and civilization". That is truly a gigantic, shameless piece of hypocrisy. . . . The motive of England is envy of our economic development. . . . Russia, France, Belgium, England, Serbia, Montenegro, and Japan in the struggle for liberty and civilization against Germanism, which has given to the world Goethe, Kant, and Karl Marx! This would be a joke if the situation were not so desperately serious.⁷⁴

It is truly illuminating to turn over the pages of the *Sozialistische Monatshefte* and to behold article after article of the most patriotic import from the pens of Max Schippel,⁷⁵ Eduard David, Wolfgang Heine,⁷⁶ Edmund Fischer, Paul Hirsch, and Ludwig Quessel:⁷⁷ England is damned, and the Socialists who die on the battle-field are raised to the altars.

On the probable domestic policies of the re-baptized Social Democratic Party, some light is perhaps shed by a remarkable speech delivered by Wolfgang Heine at Stuttgart on February 22, 1915. After arguing against peace and in support of the government not only in the prosecution of the war but also in the securing of "permanent territorial guarantees", the deputy extolled imperialism as an essential part of normal national development and indicated that the workingman's chief aim of the future must be to strive by means of a simple labor party gradually to realize political and social reforms.⁷⁸

In bringing to a close this review of developments in German Social Democracy between 1848 and 1915, I am oppressed by the

⁷⁴ Letter written August 21, 1914, and published in the New York *Volkszeitung*, September 10, 1914.

⁷⁵ See particularly his *Englands Wirtschaftliche Kriegführung*, November 11, 1914, pp. 1170-1176.

⁷⁶ See particularly his *Deutsche Sozialdemokratie im Deutschen Volk*, July 8, 1915, pp. 628-636.

⁷⁷ See particularly his *Britische Annexionspläne*, September 9, 1915, pp. 867-872.

⁷⁸ The speech of Heine is to be found in great part in *Vorwärts*, February 25, 1915. It synchronized with the conclusion of the nine-day battle of the Mazurian lakes.

feeling that I have not done justice to the movement. Too much has been said about its international policies and its merely tactical manoeuvres in German politics, and too little about its greatest and best contributions to the Germany of the present and of the future. Quite aside from its failures to establish a Marxian society and order in the Fatherland and to usher in a universal brotherhood of the world's workingmen, it has done more than any other single factor—more, it may be said without exaggeration, than all other factors put together—to preserve to twentieth-century Germany the heritage of the days of 1848, a passionate longing for political democracy, for individual liberties, for social equality. To this, its four-and-a-quarter million electoral followers are an eloquent testimony. To-day political Germany as a whole is a thinly disguised military despotism, and the Reichstag, the popular assembly, is not much more efficacious than any respectable debating society. But outside the *form* of German political life are two million workingmen, including three-fourths of the trade-unionists of the country, who have had an excellent training, through their local organization, their annual congresses, and their press, in the methods and procedure, in the problems and responsibilities, of democratic self-government; and for this training they—and the friends of democracy throughout the world—have the German Social Democracy to thank.

CARLTON J. H. HAYES.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

THE TRADES OF ANTIQUITY AS A FIELD OF INVESTIGATION

THE study of the industrial organization of ancient times will always be baffling and difficult, because the existing remains of the output of the industries are scattered about in many museums and are practically inaccessible at a distance from the great museum centres. Moreover, as compared with modern times, the amount of available information is small and statistical comparisons quite out of the question. Nevertheless, the field is an attractive one which still offers opportunity for a number of useful studies. These must be made with great care. Most particularly, great restraint is required in the necessary attempt to fill in by legitimate conjecture the blank spaces, both temporal and territorial, in which material is entirely lacking or else vague and insufficient. The best results will be obtained, I think, by highly specialized studies of single trades, carried where possible through the entire period of antiquity. As a model of what may be accomplished by an enthusiastic student of one particular craft and its products, Kisa's *Das Glas im Altertume* may be cited.¹

An opportunity to do a similar piece of work, equally interesting and of greater importance, perhaps, in the history of industrial development, is offered in the weaving trade. From Egypt we have great quantities of ancient fabrics, chiefly of coarse weaves. We have, especially from Egypt, a fairly large amount of information, both pictorial and documentary, upon the technique of the weaving industry. The basis for this phase of the work has already been laid in Blümner's *Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern*.² Other more special studies have also been made upon the ancient textile industries and the related dyeing industry. But there is no study of large scope which gives us a perspective of the advance in technical skill or the bearing of the Chinese silk trade upon the development of textile manufactures in the Mediterranean world. There is no satisfactory study of the changing social status of the weavers themselves throughout antiquity. In the period covered

¹ Dr. Anton Kisa, *Das Glas im Altertume* (Leipzig, 1908, 3 vols.).

² Hugo Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* (Leipzig, 1875-1887, 4 vols.).

by the papyri, inscriptions, and the codes of the Roman and Byzantine empires, roughly speaking from 300 B. C. to 900 A. D., information upon this subject is fairly abundant and easily accessible.

The comprehensive study of the weaving trade suggested above can only be undertaken by a scholar who is able to meet three requirements. He must have, or acquire, a knowledge of the technique of textile manufacturing. He must have time. He must have money available for travel and study in the great museums. The scholar best adapted for this service is, perhaps, to be found in a man of thorough classical training—the ancient languages are an absolute essential—connected with one of our best-equipped museums, in Boston, New York, or Chicago.

In the same way the lead industry of antiquity would also repay an intensive and comprehensive treatment, though not to the same degree as the weaving trade. Here, too, special studies are already available, but only as a working basis.³ As in the study of textile manufactures, the archaeological evidence would form the foundation of the work.

In the ancient iron industry more work has been done. The monumental work of Ludwig Beck upon the history of iron⁴ does not, however, make use of the epigraphical and papyrological evidence. Despite Waltzing's exhaustive volumes upon the industrial corporations among the Romans⁵ and other more recent studies on the Greek and Byzantine guilds, a separate study of the iron workers throughout antiquity would amply repay the time spent upon it as a dissertation. Here the ends to be sought are two: first, to determine the social classification of the laborers in the industry;⁶ second, to determine the amount of interest and control of the governments over ore production and manufacture in the iron industry.

For the ancient building trades, the archaeologists have already done a great deal in the study of the technique. But little attention has been given to their economic and social aspects; on this side

³ See the article *plumbum* in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*. All the material available in the Greek papyri from Egypt has been gathered, for all the industries, by Th. Reil in his doctoral dissertation, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Gewerbes im Hellenistischen Aegypten* (Leipzig, 1913).

⁴ Dr. Ludwig Beck, *Die Geschichte des Eisens* (second ed., vol. I., Braunschweig, 1890-1891).

⁵ P. Waltzing, *Les Corporations Professionnelles chez les Romains* (Louvain, 1895-1900, 4 vols.).

⁶ A model for this type of study may be found in the article by H. Gummerus in *Klio*, XIV. 2, "Die Römische Industrie: das Goldschmied- und Juweliergewerbe".

of the building trades lies an untouched field. These subjects are suggested as types of investigation now greatly needed in the field of ancient history. It is only through such studies, and others like them, that we can attain a real knowledge of ancient industrial life.

W. L. WESTERMANN.

AMERICAN OPINION ON THE IMPERIAL REVIEW OF PROVINCIAL
LEGISLATION, 1776-1787

THERE has recently been published in the Columbia University *Studies* a monograph by Dr. E. B. Russell on *The Review of American Colonial Legislation by the King in Council*. In the closing chapter of his monograph, Dr. Russell lays some stress on the influence of this veto power as contributing "largely to the final breach between the colonies and the mother country". This view seems on the whole justified by the prominence given to the subject in the Declaration of Independence, where the enumeration of grievances against the British crown begins with the familiar indictment, "He has refused his assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good", a charge which is followed up by a number of specifications in the succeeding paragraphs. It should be remembered, however, that in the earlier controversies, as well as in those of the Revolutionary era, the issue was not always clearly defined as between the imperial government on the one side and the whole body of colonists on the other. Sometimes, as for instance in the case of currency and "bank" legislation, a conservative minority in America was disposed to seek imperial protection against a radical majority. In other cases the royal veto was invoked to protect a colony against injurious legislation by one of its neighbors.

Generally speaking, the colonists did not question the legality of this prerogative and even so radical a person as Jefferson recognized its place in the constitution of the empire. His position was clearly set forth in 1774 in his "Summary View of the Rights of British America", where he describes the British Empire as a quasi-federal or personal union, having no authorized central legislature, in which the king was "as yet the only mediatory power between the several states".¹ An important part of this "mediatory power" was the royal veto. The actual exercise of that power the king had "for several ages past" "modestly declined" to continue "in that part of his Empire called Great Britain". The two houses of

¹ *Writings* (Ford ed.), I. 427 ff.; cf. Pownall, *Administration of the British Empire* (ed. 1777), I. 72 ff.

Parliament had not made a just use of their unfettered legislative authority and the addition of new states to the British Empire "had produced an addition of new, and sometimes opposite interests". "It is now, therefore", he continued, "the great office of his majesty to resume exercise of his negative power, and to prevent the passage of laws by any one legislature of the empire, which might bear injuriously on the rights and interests of another". In short, Jefferson, while condemning the "wanton exercise" of this prerogative, regarded it as a potentially useful part of the imperial, or federal, system.

In the enthusiasm of 1776, Americans were naturally not inclined to emphasize the advantages of the royal veto; but in the conservative reaction which followed the war, the problem of an effective control upon provincial radicalism or particularism was seen in a new light. In the Federal Convention of 1787, the members were fairly well agreed as to the desirability of some check on state laws; but there was sharp difference of opinion whether this check should be political in character as in the form of a congressional veto, or whether the principle of judicial review should be adopted. Though the debate on this issue is familiar to students of the convention, its significance for the interpretation of colonial institutions has hardly been appreciated.

Madison was, of course, one of the most persistent advocates of the congressional veto and in his discussion of the subject he referred several times to the imperial prerogative of disallowing provincial statutes. He was at work on the problem some time before the convention met. In March, 1787, he wrote to Jefferson, then in Paris, urging the necessity of a federal negative upon state laws "in all cases whatsoever", not merely in order to "guard the national rights", but also to prevent the states from oppressing "the minority within themselves by paper money and other unrighteous measures which favor the interest of the majority". There is a definite reference to colonial experience in the suggestion that there should be "some emanation" of the federal prerogative "within the several states, so far as to enable them to give a temporary sanction to laws of immediate necessity".² This was of course provided for in the imperial system through the action of the royal governor in giving immediate effect to statutes, which nevertheless remained subject to royal disallowance. In a letter to Randolph a few weeks later, Madison referred more explicitly to the British practice, urging that the national government be given

² *Writings* (Hunt ed.), II. 326, 327.

"a negative, in all cases whatsoever, on the Legislative acts of the States, as the King of Great Britain heretofore had".³ Jefferson did not agree with Madison; on practical grounds rather than as a matter of principle, he expressed his preference for some form of judicial control.⁴ Madison held, however, to his own opinion and found a considerable support in the convention.

On June 8, while the convention was sitting in committee of the whole, Charles Pinckney made a motion to give the national legislature a negative on all state laws "which to them shall appear improper". He argued in support of this motion, that "under the British Govt. the negative of the Crown had been found beneficial, and the *States* are more one nation now, than the *Colonies* were then". Madison was apparently more cautious in his approval of the imperial precedent. He renewed the suggestion made in his letter to Randolph of "some emanation of the power from the Natl. Govt. into each State so far as to give a temporary assent at least". "This", he said, "was the practice in Royal Colonies before the Revolution and would not have been inconvenient, if the supreme power of negating had been faithful to the American interest and had possessed the necessary information".⁵ When the discussion was resumed on July 17, Madison came forward with another speech in support of the congressional veto, again supporting his contention by reference to the royal disallowance of colonial laws:

Its utility is sufficiently displayed in the British System. Nothing could maintain the harmony and subordination of the various parts of the empire, but the prerogative by which the Crown stifles in the birth every Act of every part tending to discord or encroachment. It is true the prerogative is sometimes misapplied thro' ignorance or a partiality to one particular part of the empire: but we have not the same reason to fear such misapplications in our System.⁶

This is almost precisely Jefferson's theory of the legitimate function of an imperial veto.

How many of Madison's colleagues shared his comparatively favorable view of the royal veto it is impossible to say. Apparently only one of his opponents in the debate touched on this particular

³ *Writings*, II. 338, 339.

⁴ Jefferson, *Writings* (Ford ed.), IV. 390-391.

⁵ Journal, and Madison's Notes, June 8 (Farrand, *Records*, I.).

⁶ Madison's Notes, July 17 (Farrand, *Records*, II. 28). There are brief references to this aspect of the discussion in Curtis, *Constitutional History of the United States*, I. 345-347; Coxe, *Judicial Power and Unconstitutional Legislation*, ch. 34; Robinson, "Original and Derived Features of the Constitution", in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, I. 238; and Bigelow's essay in *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. VII., ch. VIII.

point. This was Lansing, who referred to it in a speech directed against the generally nationalistic features of the Virginia plan. It was intolerable, he said, that a gentleman from Georgia should assume to judge the expediency of a law which was to operate in New Hampshire. "Such a Negative would be more injurious than that of Great Britain heretofore was."⁷

Madison's final view of the matter is shown in the familiar memorandum on the "Origin of the Constitutional Convention", written shortly before his death, in which he refers to his early proposals, "suggested by the negative in the head of the British Empire, which prevented collisions between the parts and the whole, and between the parts themselves".

It was supposed [he adds] that the substitution, of an elective and responsible authority for an hereditary and irresponsible one, would avoid the appearance even of a departure from the principle of Republicanism. But altho' the subject was so viewed in the Convention, and the votes on it were more than once equally divided, it was finally and justly abandoned, as apart from other objections it was not practicable among so many states increasing in number and enacting each of them so many laws.⁸

Though federal control of state legislation was finally secured in another way, the whole debate shows how the sense of responsibility for general interests influenced American ways of thinking about imperial problems. Men like Samuel Adams, or Patrick Henry, clinging persistently to his "darling word requisitions",⁹ might continue to think in the terms of 1776, but the leaders who wrestled with confederation problems during and after the war understood, in some measure at least, the attitude of British administrators when confronted with the stubborn localism of a provincial assembly.

EVARTS B. GREENE.

MAXIMUM PRICES IN FRANCE IN 1793 AND 1794

THE measures adopted by the German imperial government for the control of food prices and the fair distribution of supplies, together with the recent legislation on the same subject in the United States, give a fresh interest to similar experiments in France, when that country was confronted by a world of enemies in 1793 and 1794. An adequate examination of certain aspects of the French experience with maximum prices has now been made pos-

⁷ Madison's Notes, June 20 (Farrand, *Records*, I. 337).

⁸ *Writings* (Hunt ed.), II. 409.

⁹ Henry, *Patrick Henry*, III. 471.

sible by the work of scholars under the direction of the Commission de Recherche et de Publication des Documents relatifs à la Vie Économique de la Révolution. So extensive is the documentary material on the subject in the local archives of France, communal as well as departmental, that the individual student, unaided by the results of such co-operative labors, could hardly hope to obtain a comprehensive view of the problem. This is especially true of the American student, whose visits to French archives can only be occasional. The purpose of the present note is to call attention to some of the new material and to indicate a few of the interesting questions suggested by its study.

The volumes published by the Commission, so far as they are concerned with the question of food and other necessities of life, contain more material upon the supply of wheat and its distribution than upon what was called the *Maximum général*, established by the law of September 29, 1793, and modified by subsequent legislation. This is in consequence of the wise policy of the Commission in organizing carefully the study of one field before undertaking work upon another. In order that the researches of the collaborating scholars may be most successful, and their publications edited on a plan reasonably uniform, the Commission usually issues a pamphlet of instructions or a manual containing the important laws, regulations, and administrative circulars bearing on the subject. Such was M. Pierre Caron's *Le Commerce des Céréales*, published in 1907, which was the introduction to the series on *Les Subsistances*.¹ In 1913 M. Caron was authorized to prepare a similar volume on the *Maximum général*, but its publication has apparently been delayed by the war. As a consequence the series which it was intended to introduce is also delayed.

This does not mean that no documents for the study of price-making in general have been made available by the work of the Commission. The volumes on the grain supply incidentally contain much on the broader subject. For example, the records of the Committee of Subsistence of Toulouse show that while it was mainly busied with questions of wheat and bread it was anxious also to secure supplies of meat, oil, soap, and candles. The volumes

¹ The most important volumes of this series are *Les Procès-Verbaux des Comités d'Agriculture et de Commerce de la Constituante, de la Législative, et de la Convention* (ed. F. Gerbaux and Ch. Schmidt, 4 vols.); Ch. Lorain, *Les Subsistances en Céréales dans le District de Chaumont* (Haute-Marne), 2 vols.; J. Adler, *Le Comité des Subsistances de Toulouse*; G. Lefebvre, *Documents relatifs à l'Histoire des Subsistances dans le District de Bergues* (Nord), vol. I. Of the last work a second volume is to appear, unless its completion has been prevented by the devastation of that part of France.

of M. Mourlot, embodying documents from the records of the municipalities of the district of Alençon, deal with all economic problems, including the general maximum.² The characteristic difficulties in the enforcement of the maximum laws in Paris and in its neighborhood are made vividly apparent in the reports of the "Observers" Grivel and Siret, which M. Caron has printed at length in the Commission's *Bulletin* of 1907.³

The most satisfactory studies of price-making in France deal with local situations: for example, that of M. Babeau, in his history of Troyes during the Revolution. The Commission's *Bulletin* of 1907 contains an enlightening account by M. Lefebvre of the way the maximum worked in the district of Bergues. The same writer has also described the experience of a particular commune of that district.⁴ The more comprehensive accounts are open to the charge of fragmentariness or prejudice. Even that of M. Levasseur, in the revised edition of his *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières en France*, is meagre and not free from confusion. He makes no clear statement of the modifications introduced by the law of the 11th Brumaire, nor does he give an adequate notion of the enormous difficulties which the government had to overcome before it issued its schedules of prices. The principal weakness in his treatment, however, is its failure to consider the influence of a war which arrayed against France nearly every European power. He apparently regarded the argument for complete economic freedom as unaffected by such a circumstance. Taine's long chapter on the subject equally disregards this fact. His main interest appears to have been to illustrate Jacobin violence and administrative incapacity. The most instructive of the older treatments is in Biollay's *Les Prix en 1790*, although his description of the price legislation of 1793 is only incidental.

The French experiment with maximum prices was confessedly a failure; at least such was the declared opinion of the Convention in December, 1794, when the maximum laws were repealed. The question is, Was the failure real?—and, if so, What was the reason? A recent writer on the food dictatorship in Germany alleges the greed of the farmer as the cause of the supposed failure

² *Recueil des Documents d'Ordre Économique contenus dans les Registres de Délibérations des Municipalités du District d'Alençon* (Orne), 3 vols.

³ Other collections, like that of M. Aulard for the Committee of Public Safety, contain many documents bearing on the subject. An original copy of the *Tableau du Maximum Général*, in two volumes, issued by the Commission des Substances et Approvisionnements in 1794, is to be found in the Ford Collection of the New York Public Library.

⁴ "La Société Populaire de Bourbourg", in *Revue du Nord*, IV. 273-323.

of the grain maximum in Revolutionary France. This statement simply re-echoes the invectives hurled at the farmer from 1792 on by those members of the Convention or of town councils who represented the point of view of the urban proletariat, and who could not or would not understand the position of the farmer. Mobs of townsmen had ruined the grain-trade and had created an artificial famine even before the general war broke out in February, 1793. Tormented by fear of scarcity, the townsmen not only prevented grain from being sent out of their own communities to other markets, but also stopped wagons which were passing by, and either pillaged the loads or compelled the grain to be sold, often below cost. They looked upon the grain-merchants as in a conspiracy to corner the market or to export grain, and they began to regard the farmer as a conspirator too, and to abuse him when he appeared in the local market. Their anger was aroused if he refused to take the rapidly depreciating paper for his grain. As the assignats had lost nearly half their face-value by the summer of 1792, it is not surprising that the farmer preferred coin, and, if he could not get this, demanded a higher price. The first maximum law, adopted May 4, 1793, provided that in each department the price should be the average of the local market prices from January to May. The farmer could not now make a distinction between payment in assignats and payment in coin, for that had just been made a penal offense. In consequence he was inclined to keep his grain, waiting for the Convention to repeal the maximum law, or for a turn in the political wheel of fortune which should bring coin again into circulation. The evidence of the documents is that wherever the law was enforced the markets were deserted, if they had not been deserted before. Several departments, fearing the consequences to themselves of the law, did not enforce it at all or fixed the price later than their neighbors, in the hope of attracting grain to their own markets. By the close of August it was recognized that this first experiment was a failure, and on September 11 the plan was tried of fixing a uniform price for the whole country and making an allowance for the costs of transportation. This law offered still less inducement to the farmer, for in those departments where grain was scarce he was to receive a price much lower even than the January price. If he took his grain to market, he commonly found no merchants to buy it, the allowance for carriage being below the rates charged by carters and boatmen. Moreover, why should a merchant buy at the maximum in one place and transport it to another when he was obliged to sell at the same price? The reason for the

partial failure of the grain maximum is to be found elsewhere than in the greed of the farmers. Many members of the Convention rightly believed that all such efforts were doomed to failure unless the inflation of paper money was stopped.

It is by no means clear that the grain maximum was a complete failure, except from the point of view of the orthodox economy. France was in a condition for which the Convention was not wholly responsible. The distrust which each department, often each district or town, felt toward its neighbors when the question of food was raised, had brought about an economic federalism far more dangerous than the mild schemes of decentralization entertained by the Girondins. The Constituent Assembly had embarked on the disastrous policy of relying on paper money rather than upon taxes to pay the expenses of the Revolution. By the spring and summer of 1793 the ills bred by these two diseases had become inveterate. They were aggravated by defeats on the frontier, by rumors of treason, and by the fact of civil war. Grain must be obtained for the armies and for the civil population as well. It was folly to expect the farmer to save the situation, voluntarily, at his own cost, for until the general maximum was introduced in the fall he had to pay high prices for everything he bought and high wages to his employees. But both the law of May and the law of September did contain a provision which could be utilized to keep the country from starvation. This was the right of the authorities to compel farmers to bring grain to market, where, of course, it could be purchased at the maximum price. Whether the proceeding was just is not now under discussion. The local records show that commandeering, or the requisition, as it was then called, was the method by which France was fed, so far as grain was concerned, in the last half of 1793 and during the year 1794. At best the system of force could be only temporary. Not even Terror could in the long run keep the farmers at work. But by the time it was necessary to abandon the plan of a maximum the country had been saved both from its foreign foes and from the factions which were still more dangerous. There is some truth in the remark made in his memoirs by another Levasseur, deputy from the Sarthe, that "our critics must prove that the maximum has not lessened the wretchedness of the masses, and so stimulated their enthusiasm, before blaming us for establishing it."

Perhaps the same might be said for the general maximum, and doubtless Levasseur's remark was meant to include this, but the case would be difficult to make out. In the first place the law had

been in existence only a month when the basis of prices was fundamentally changed. The principle of the law of September 29 was that prices should be the local prices of 1790 with one-third added. The Convention soon discovered that neither wholesaler nor retailer could continue business under this system. The wholesaler was apparently better off than the retailer, because he could charge the maximum to the retailer, who then could make no profit at all. But the wholesaler was hit almost equally hard, if he tried to restock, because the producer charged the maximum and the law made no allowance for the great increase in transportation charges. On the 11th Brumaire (November 1), accordingly, the Convention decided that prices should be based upon those of 1790 at the place of production, with the addition of a third, plus a rate per league for carriage, and five per cent. for the wholesaler, and ten per cent. for the retailer. A few days before a new Commission of Supplies (*Subsistances et Approvisionnements*) had been created, and to this was assigned the task of preparing the schedules of prices at the place of production in 1790. The schedules were to be printed and sent to the district authorities, whose duty it was to add the allowances for transportation and for profits. The Commission seems to have labored with the greatest diligence, but its task was not completed until late in February. After the Convention had approved the work the printing of the schedules began. As there were twenty, amounting in all to 1278 printed pages, weeks were required. They had to be printed again in the districts, with the legal allowances added, in order that citizens as well as merchants might have copies. In not a few districts the local printers did not have type enough to push forward the work rapidly. The consequence was that the new rates were promulgated locally one after another all through the spring and summer. As all maximum laws were abrogated in December, the new price system had a short career. One question upon which available documents do not throw sufficient light is whether the law of the 11th Brumaire operated to nullify the law of September 29. M. Lefebvre finds that it did in the commune of Bourbourg, but he does not express so definite an opinion for the district of Bergues as a whole. The documents do offer an abundance of evidence to show that in many places the earlier maximum was disregarded for other reasons, if not because of the change in the scheme.

One of the most curious results of the maximum legislation was the growth of a contraband trade, which reached enormous proportions. This was especially true for butter, eggs, and meat, which

were peddled in small quantities by *revendeurs* or higglers. To control the prices charged by such persons, chiefly women, who made their way into alleys, to the doors of apartments, and to the service entrances of the rich, was practically impossible. The growth of this contraband trade contributed to the unpopularity of a law which was ruinous only to honest butchers and grocers.

In the study of the maximum legislation the close connection between the influence of the Paris radicals and the two laws of September 11 and of September 29 has not been sufficiently emphasized. When late in August it became clear that the first grain maximum was a failure, the tide of sentiment in the Convention seemed to be running against the policy of a maximum. Paris then intervened with demands and menaces. On September 4 the municipal council voted to proceed to the Convention in a body and demand the immediate creation of a "revolutionary army, which should march wherever necessary to thwart the manoeuvres of egoists and forestallers [*i. e.*, grain merchants and farmers], and bring them to justice". Chaumette, speaking for the commune the next day, urged that a guillotine accompany the army, in order that at a blow the lives of intriguers, as well as their plots, should be cut off. This, he said, would force "avarice and cupidity to disgorge the riches of the earth". The agitation to strengthen the food laws and to carry them out rigorously enabled Billaud-Varennes and Collot d'Herbois to force their way into the Committee of Public Safety. The existing members of the committee, if we may judge by the later speeches of Saint Just and Barère, took a critical attitude toward the maximum laws. In the spring of 1794 Barère, speaking in behalf of the committee for the adoption of the new schedules of prices, declared frankly that the original maximum laws were a feature of the "profound system of the counter-revolutionary cabinet of London and Paris". Not many days afterward the committee ordered the arrest of Chaumette, the spokesman of the Paris radicals in the food agitation of September.

These are only a few of the interesting problems the study of which is facilitated by the publications of the Commission. It is to be hoped that the burdens which the war has laid upon France will not fatally hamper the work undertaken by the Commission and its co-operating scholars.

HENRY E. BOURNE.

DOCUMENTS

1. *The New England Emigrant Aid Company and English Cotton Supply Associations: Letters of Frederick L. Olmsted, 1857*

THE following letters reveal an attempt made in 1857 by the New England Emigrant Aid Company to enlist the aid of English cotton manufacturers in colonizing free laborers upon new land in the southwest of the United States. The work of this society in assisting the establishment of free communities in Kansas is well known. In encouraging emigrants, furnishing them with advice and helping to defray their travelling expenses, and finally by supplying the new communities with the necessary outfit of capital in the form of sawmills, grist-mills, etc., the Emigrant Aid Company combated the further advance of slavery with an intelligent policy of practical opportunism. Its business-like methods and adherence to lawful means still stand out in marked contrast to the violent denunciations and revolutionary propaganda which characterized much of the anti-slavery movement.

To have enlisted the services of Frederick Law Olmsted is the best sort of proof that the leaders of the Emigrant Aid Company were really anxious to learn the truth about slavery, for by the publication of his *Journey in the Seaboard Slave States* in 1856 and the *Journey through Texas* in 1857 Mr. Olmsted had shown himself to be the best-informed and the most unprejudiced and thoughtful student of slave society in this country.

The plan which Mr. Olmsted submitted to the Cotton Supply Associations of Manchester and Liverpool was based upon two clear and important convictions: (1) that cotton could be successfully grown almost anywhere in the South by white labor, and (2) that free white labor could in the long run hold its ground against the slave-using planters in competition for the land.¹ The success of

¹ The first point was elaborated in Olmsted's *Journey in the Back Country*, pp. 337-355. The soundness of the contention has been amply demonstrated by the later history of Southern agriculture, especially in Texas.

On the second point there was ground for a difference of opinion. Would the new colonists be any more able to hold their land against the competition of the large planters using slave gangs than were the small farmers of the South Atlantic states who in earlier decades had been driven on to poorer soils and to the new Southwest? Much would undoubtedly have depended on the character

the colonization plan in not only checking the further advance, but in hastening the eventual disappearance of slavery would have depended upon another circumstance, also, which Mr. Olmsted does not seem to have recognized. Slavery depended for its profitability on a constantly available supply of new land. As soon as the rapidly decreasing supply of fresh lands suitable for cotton cultivation had been exhausted, the economic weakness of the slave system would have been sure to display itself and eventually its political support would have failed. Thus, in planning to seize this new land in advance by free-labor colonists, the Emigrant Aid Company were preparing, perhaps more scientifically than they themselves realized, to hasten the inevitable decay of the "peculiar institution" of the South.

Dr. Samuel Cabot, to whom this correspondence was addressed, was a physician of considerable reputation in Boston, one of the twenty original directors of the Emigrant Aid Company and an untiring worker in its service.

PERCY W. BIDWELL.

I.

NEW HAVEN, July 26th, 1857.
(Morris Cove)

DR. S. CABOT, JR.
(N. E. E. A. Soc'y)

Dear Sir

I extremely regret the circumstance which so long delayed my receipt of your letter of 16th July, to which I now reply.

Enclosed I send you a copy of the draft of a communication addressed by me on the 6th July, severally, to the Cotton Supply Associations of Manchester, and of Liverpool.² These papers were taken out and would be delivered in person to the Secretary's of the associations, by Mr. William Neill, one of our largest Cotton merchants, dealing with Manchester, and the editor of a weekly Cotton circular, much quoted by the English journals. Mr. Neill sail'd from New York on the 8th. You will perceive that my object has been thus far to secure a proper consideration of the subject, and that in these papers I have treated it simply in the Cotton Supply aspect. By the same mail however I addressed letters to individuals, with whom I have had a little correspondence previously, treating of the political and moral bearings of the project, stating the general principles on which I thought it would be best to proceed; fortifying my suggestions and statements with documents and in two instances—to Lord Goderich M. P. from the West of the new settlers and upon the amount of aid and direction furnished by the Emigrant Aid Company. It must also be remembered that these colonists would have settled on the last frontier of the cotton area and consequently would have been more reluctant to sell out than the earlier competitors of the planters.

² These local associations or branches had been formed but a little time before this. The Cotton Supply Association of Great Britain held its first annual meeting in April, 1858.

Riding and C. Fowler Buxton M. P.³ who has much influence in Manchester, requesting that the proposal of my letters to the Cotton Associations meet with due consideration. I addressed a short note also, (continuing a conversation I had last autumn on the agricultural capabilities of the United States,) to the editor of the *Times*. Colonel Hamilton, who has the most encouraging view of the project, promised me to write to Lord Stanley⁴ and friends at Liverpool by the following steamer's mail.

I trust that what has been thus done (previous to my receiving any intimation that you had thought of soliciting money in England) will have prepared the ground favorably to Mr. Paddleford's arrival. It is a most fortunate circumstance that a competent person will be present to meet objections and take advantage of various circumstances in the discussion, if one should occur, in which facts, likely to be familiar to Mr. P., will tell happily.

With regard to the proposal to be made by Mr. Paddleford, if any, and the information most desirable to be furnished, he will of course be guided by circumstances, but unless met with much greater favor than I can anticipate, I may venture to say that I am confident in the judgment that it would not be best to urge much more at present than careful enquiry, in some such manner as I have done in my letters. We shall find, I apprehend, a strong influence against us in East India and other colonial interests, and also in a narrow patriotism. From Lord Goderich's letter to me, I am sure that the American political relations of the project should be kept out of sight as much as possible in England. The name of the N. E. E. Aid Society should not at present be mentioned, because the Society has a certain political notoriety and English gentlemen will generally feel it to be their duty, not to listen to a proposal which seems likely to connect their names with the internal political affairs of a foreign government. This is not only somewhat reasonable but with the class represented by the *Times*, it happens now to be a fashion. They may be drawn into it gradually, as they gain knowledge of the true character of the society, perhaps, but the dread of lending their aid even indirectly to what might turn out to be a merely political scheme (in the narrow sense), would be likely to prevent their giving the subject a fair hearing. Everybody knows who has had to do with Englishmen, that it is peculiarly true of them, that it is the first step which costs. The great point at first is to get them to listen. If they will go so far this autumn as to send out an agent to obtain information, I shall feel quite sure of our leading them from that to the most valuable co-operation. . . .⁵

³ George Frederick Robinson (1827-1909, at this time known by the courtesy title of Lord Goderich) was afterward Earl de Grey and Ripon and first Marquis of Ripon. On March 30, 1857, he had been elected to succeed Cobden as M. P. for the West Riding of Yorkshire. Charles Buxton (1823-1871), son of Sir Thomas *Fowell* Buxton, was returned to the House of Commons for Newport in 1857.

⁴ Lord Stanley (1826-1893), eldest son of the fourteenth Earl of Derby and afterward fifteenth earl and cabinet minister, was from 1848 to 1859 M. P. for King's Lynn.

⁵ Here follows a criticism of the work of an English traveller, Robert Russell (*North America, its Agriculture and Climate*, Edinburgh, 1857), which Olmsted feared might exert an unfavorable influence on the English attitude toward

I enclose papers put into my hands last night by Mr. Kapp⁶ which must be used with discretion. I promised to return them in course of the week. They contain offers to sell lands of the choicest unimproved character in the vicinity of the northernmost German settlements of Texas and precisely in the line we wish to occupy and evidently at unusually low prices. I think some encouragement should be offered to the owners, who are Scotchmen—the *merchants* mentioned in my book at N. Braunfels, who bought the free-labor cotton.⁷ I know that they have made their land investments with great care. I have another offer of choice, selected lands in the same region and to the northward of it, 20,000 acres at 90 cts an acre. Another of 2000 acres same district, selected lots at 50 cts. or one half in alternate lots, for nothing, on condition of occupation within three years: another of 2 leagues in the Brazos, Milan County (6000 acres) \$1.50 an acre, another on the Nueces 35 miles north of Corpus Christi, 20,000 acres, in one body, at \$1.00 an acre. Large tracts of cotton land can be best got, however, by dealing with the R. R. companies.

I am obliged to close suddenly and will probably write further by next mail

Yours Respectfully

FRED. LAW OLMSTED.

Copy.

II.

NEW YORK, July 6th, 1857.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE
COTTON SUPPLY ASSOCIATION

Sir

My attention having been directed for some years past to the cotton producing regions of the *North American Continent*, I take leave to present certain views I have formed for the consideration of your association.

Under the stimulus of high prices, valuable contributions of cotton are obtained from various other parts of the world than the *United States*; measures may be taken by which this auxilliary supply will be much increased. After much research and several costly experiments however, it yet remains very questionable if any where else in the world, an equal value of cotton-wool can be obtained from a given expenditure of labor, as in that part of the *N. A. Continent* lying between the thirtieth and the thirty sixth parallels of latitude. No where else are the same meteorological conditions found which here prevail, nor is [it] to be expected that by any exercise of human ingenuity they will be obtained.

The amount of labor engaged in the production of cotton within the region thus favored does not exceed that of one strong man to a square mile. If one half the agricultural population of *Europe* was the colonization scheme. He also sketches his plans for a third volume of the series *Our Slave States*, which appeared in 1860 under the title, *A Journey in the Back Country*.

⁶ Friedrich Kapp (1824-1884), the well-known writer on slavery and on the German element in America. Olmsted's account of the history of New Braunfels, in his *Journey through Texas*, pp. 172-177, is based on a published lecture by his friend Kapp.

⁷ *A Journey through Texas* (New York, 1857), p. 146. On New Braunfels, see G. G. Benjamin, *The Germans in Texas* (Philadelphia, 1909), pp. 44-54.

transferred to this region it would not be at all densely populated and the laborers would probably be better paid in producing cotton at $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ a pound, than they are at present. An adequate supply of labor only is needed to increase the supply of Cotton from *North America*, tenfold. It is for the interest of those whose capital is invested in Slaves that the impression should prevail that the cultivation of cotton is impracticable by means of any other than negro slave labor, a monopoly of supplying, which in the *United States* they enjoy. After extended and exact inquiry, having spent a summer in the cotton districts for the purpose, I am certain that this is not the case. There are exceptional, malarious and pestilential regions but in the largest part of the present Cotton producing region of the *United States* the labor of men of the *English* or Teutonic races will produce more cotton, man for man, in a life time, than of those of the *African* race.

* I would suggest to your association therefore, that inquiry be made with regard to the practicability of increasing the supply of cotton by inducing free laborers to engage in its cultivation in the *South Western* territories of the *United States*. There are here vast tracts of suitable soil, as yet unoccupied by planters, and in which the political and social circumstances that prevent the introduction of free laborers elsewhere, exist if at all, in a very limited degree.

Three years ago the *Governor* of the *State of Texas*⁸ told me that the cotton crop of the *United States* might be doubled on the land as yet unoccupied in that state alone. There are millions of acres of this land in the vicinity of which *Slavery* does not exist in a form to prevent their occupation by free labor. There is nothing in the laws, nor, under discreet direction, need there be anything in the prejudices of the people, to prevent free settlers occupying this land. Large tracts of it can be procured at from two to six shillings (sterling) an acre. If a large free emigration were directed to them they would rapidly increase in value several hundred per cent. This increase in value would prevent the subsequent immigration of *Slave-holders* upon them. In *Comal County* in *Texas* within the last ten years, three thousand Germans have settled.⁹ Since they have been well established as a community, no slave proprietor has settled among them and such as were previously settled in the vicinity have been induced to employ free-laborers in occupations for which they would otherwise have purchased more Slaves. The Germans were thus engaged in the cultivation of cotton, and in one year, they produced, without previous experience or the usual conveniences, 800 bales, which I was informed, by the Merchant who purchased it, was superior in quality to any slave grown cotton he had ever seen.

Some further information on this subject may be gathered from my narrative of a *Journey in Texas*, a copy of which I take leave to send you by my friend Mr. William Neill of the house of Neill Brothers and Company, Cotton Merchants, to whom I have also communicated more fully my views of the measures which might be taken to increase the supply of cotton from the *United States*.

If your association should be disposed to prosecute the enquiry I have suggested I would gladly give any assistance in my power—coming

⁸ Elisha M. Pease, governor from 1853 to 1857.

⁹ See *Journey through Texas*, p. 428, "in Comal, Gillespie, and Medina counties nearly all the inhabitants are Germans".

to England for the purpose, if it should be thought desirable. I have recently seen two of the largest *Cotton Spinners* of *America* and am able to give you assurance of an effective co-operation on their part with any judicious movement to direct free laborers to increase cotton production in *America*. If you should think it well to send an agent to examine the regions available for this purpose, as I would venture to earnestly recommend, it would give me pleasure to accompany him upon the journey, and to assist in obtaining all desirable information. It would be best to leave *New York* in *September*, and, as most of the country to be examined would have to be traversed on horseback, three months time should be allowed for the journey. The expenses of the tour need not exceed £200, and my personal services would be gratuitous to your association.

It is desirable that this subject should not at present be publicly discussed.

2. *Kearsarge and Alabama: French Official Report, 1864*

THE following papers, for which we are indebted to Mr. Waldo G. Leland, were found by him in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Manuscripts Français, Nouvelles Acquisitions, 9466, ff. 95-98). They are addressed to the *préfet maritime* of Cherbourg, Vice-Admiral Dupouy, by the captain of the *Couronne*, a French iron-clad then stationed there and present at the fight between the *Kearsarge* and the *Alabama* on June 19, 1864. The report has a value, as adding, to the original sources already known, Union, Confederate, and British, a professional account by an eyewitness who was an experienced naval officer of a neutral nation, and whose function it was to escort the *Alabama* outside the three-mile limit and in a sense to supervise the combat.

I. RÉCIT DU COMBAT ENTRE LE *Kerseage* ET L'*Alabama*.

Frégate Cuirassée *La Couronne*

CHERBOURG, le 19 juin, 1864.

Amiral,

Conformément à vos ordres j'ai allumé les feux en même temps que le bâtiment confédéré *Alabama*. À 7h. 50 nous avions de la pression. Le bâtiment fédéral *Kerseage* restait dans le N. E. à très grande distance. À 9h. 45 l'*Alabama* a appareillé et la *Couronne* filé son corps mort et l'a suivi à la distance prescrite. Dès que ce bâtiment a été en dehors des eaux territoriales je me suis dirigé immédiatement sur la rade et j'ai repris le mouillage que j'occupais avant mon départ.

Nous avons suivi de la mâture les mouvements des deux bâtiments qui se trouvaient très au large. On ne distinguait pas bien leurs mouvements, lorsque tout-à-coup on m'a prévu que l'on croyait avoir vu un des deux bâtiments couler bas; on distinguait sur les lieux du sinistre une très grande réunion de bâtiments et de bateaux du port. Je me suis empressé de vous transmettre cette information, mais à cause de la distance où se trouvaient les combattants et de l'état brumeux du temps

il était difficile de se rendre compte exact de l'état des choses. Le bâtiment à vapeur le *Var* se dirigeait du reste sur les lieux.

Je suis avec respect
Amiral
votre très obéissant serviteur
Le Cap'ne de V'eau Command't la *Couronne*

PENHOAT

P. S. Nous avons acquis la certitude que c'est l'*Alabama* qui a succombé dans cette lutte glorieuse.

II. MOUVEMENTS DE LA *Couronne* ET DES DEUX BÂTIMENTS AMÉRICAINS.

3h.30 Aperçu le *Kerseage* au N. E.
5.45 *Alabama* commence à virer.
6.10 *Alabama* allume les feux.
6.10 *Couronne* allume les feux.
6.55 *Couronne* communique avec *Alabama*.
7.25 *Kerseage* au N. E. courant à l'O.
7.50 *Alabama* a de la pression.
7.55 *Couronne* a de la pression.
8.00 *Kerseage* à l'E. N. E. bien loin.
8.30 *Couronne* prête à marcher.
9.30 *Alabama* vire à pic.
9.30 *Couronne* aux postes d'appareillage.
9.35 *Kerseage* à l'E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. E.
9.45 *Alabama* appareille.
9.50 *Kerseage* disparu.
9.54 *Alabama* passe devant la *Couronne*.
9.55 *Couronne* appareille.
10.00 *Alabama* double la pointe du Mensoir.¹
10.07 *Kerseage* au N. E.
10.10 *Alabama* quitte le pilote.
10.18 *Couronne* double le Mensoir.
10.20 *Kerseage* au N. 80° E.
10.22 *Couronne* gouverne à l'E. N. E.
10.23 *Alabama* au N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.
10.30 *Kerseage* change de route (vient sur tribord).
10.50 *Couronne* vient sur babord, rentre.
10.50 *Kerseage* arbore sa demi-enseigne.
11.03 Commence le combat.
11.50 *Couronne* mouille.

Le bâtiment confédéré *Alabama*, commandé par le Cap. Semmes, mouilla sur la rade de Cherbourg le 11 juin 1864 venant du Cap de bonne espérance. Ce bâtiment avait déclaré 122 hommes d'équipage; on a su depuis qu'il avait à bord 22 officiers confédérés. L'*Alabama* était un joli bâtiment à hélice de 13 à 1400 tonnes,² bien mâté d'un faible

¹ Apparently the western point of the great breakwater which protects the harbor of Cherbourg. There is a map of the scene of the engagement in the *Report of the Secretary of the Navy for 1864*, opposite page 631, and this is reproduced in *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies*, III., opp. p. 81.

² 1040 tons. Scharf, *History of the Confederate States Navy* (Albany, 1894), p. 797.

échantillon en bois, armé de 6 canons.³ Deux de ces canons étoient établis à pivot, le premier entre le mât de misaine et le grand mât était une pièce rayée de 9 pouces, portant un boulet creux cylindro-sphérique. Le second canon placé entre le grand mât et le mât d'artimon était une pièce à anse lisse⁴ du calibre de 48 à 50, boulet plein (pour les calibres il peut y avoir du doute, on s'en est rapporté aux assertions des officiers sans la contrôler par esprit de discrétion), les autres pièces étaient du 30, ayant l'apparence de nos obusiers de 30 de marine. Le Capitaine disait que le cuivre de son bâtiment était en mauvais état : il avait reçu l'autorisation de compléter son charbon à Cherbourg [*word illegible*], et non de se réparer, car il n'est pas entré dans le port.⁵

Le *Kerseage*, commandé par le Capitaine Vinslow,⁶ a paru le 14 devant la Digue, venant de Douvres.⁷ Ce bâtiment a déclaré 140 hommes d'équipage.⁸ C'est un aviso à hélice de 14 à 1500,⁹ armé de 6 canons dont deux canons Dahlgreen de 11 pouces (27 cm.) du poids de 7700 Kilog. établis à pivot sur le pont, l'un entre le grand mât et le mât de misaine, l'autre entre le grand mât et le mât d'artimon. Ces deux canons lançaient des obus et des grappes composées de biscayens et de boulets de 4; il n'y avait pas à bord de boulet plein pour cette artillerie; les 4 autres canons étaient des pièces de 32 correspondant à notre 30, nos. 3 ou 4.

Le *Kerseage* est un bâtiment en bois, d'assez fort échantillon blindé sur le côté avec des bouts de chaîne de 36 à 40 mm. de fer de maillon, placées verticalement depuis le bastingage jusqu'à 1 mètre au-dessous de la flottaison, ces bouts de chaîne sont serrés l'un contre l'autre de telle sorte que la maille à plat engraine dans la maille en saillie. le tout est lié par des amarrages en filin. je ne connais pas le système qui rattache cette sorte de cote de maille au bâtiment (ce sont des crampons probablement). le tout est recouvert d'un léger soufflage en sapin.

Ce blindage est placé sur le côté du bâtiment de manière à couvrir sa machine.

Le *Kerseage* se présente devant la passe de l'Est sans entrer et vint demander l'autorisation de communiquer avec son consul, autorisation qui lui fut accordée après quelques difficultés sanitaires. Il s'établit en suite en croisière au large de la digue, en dehors des eaux territoriales avec une telle discrétion que la plupart du temps il était hors de vue.

On a dit que les deux capitaines s'étaient envoyé un cartel. le Capitaine Vinslow repousse cette assertion. il n'a envoyé aucun défi mais il avait reçu une lettre du Cap'ne Semmes qui lui annonçait qu'il sortirait pour le combattre. le Cap'e Semmes avait annoncé sa résolution officiellement et prévenu qu'il sortirait le Dimanche 19 entre 9 heures et 10 heures du matin. les deux bâtiments avaient reçu dès leur

³ The armament of the *Alabama* consisted of one 110-pounder rifled pivot gun, one heavy eight-inch 68-pounder (9000 pounds), and six 32-pounders. *Official Records*, III. 59, 77, 81; Semmes, *Service Afloat* (1900), p. 753.

⁴ Smooth-bore.

⁵ See *Official Records*, III. 647, 652, 654, 658, 661, 663.

⁶ Captain John A. Winslow, U. S. N.

⁷ And Flushing.

⁸ Officers 19, crew 144. *Official Records*, III. 77.

⁹ 1030 tons. Besides the armament described below, there was a 28-pound rifle. *Official Records*, III. 59.

arrivée dans le port un extrait des instructions aux quelles les belligérents doivent se conformer pendant leur séjour sur les rades françaises.

Le Dimanche matin l'*Alabama* alluma les feux vers 6 heures et toute la population garnissait les quais, les môles, les tours, le Roule¹⁰ et la Digue pour voir le combat naval. il y avait affluence de Parisiens arrivés le matin par un train de plaisir.

L'*Alabama* appareille vers 9 h $\frac{1}{2}$ et lorsqu'il fut devant la *Couronne*, cette frégate laissa filer son corps-mort et le suivit à une distance suffisante pour ne pas gêner ses mouvements. elle avait ordre d'empêcher tout engagement dans les eaux territoriales et de revenir au mouillage dès qu'elle serait assurée que le combat serait livré en dehors des eaux françaises.

Au moment où les bâtiments doublaient le Mensoir de l'Est, le *Kerseage* reste dans l'E.N.E., le cap¹¹ au N. E. à 12 milles de distance. parvenu à la limite des eaux territoriales la *Couronne* signale sa position à la Digue, qui signale à la *Couronne* de reprendre son mouillage, ce qui fut exécuté sans délai. Il y avait au large nombre d'embarcations du port, trois yachts anglais dont un à vapeur. Le *Var* était sous pression prêt à porter secours au besoin.

Dès que l'*Alabama* se trouva libre de ses mouvements, il se dirigea sur le *Kerseage* qui continuait à faire route au N. E. Mais peu après, celui-ci changea de route et se dirigea sur l'*Alabama*. Les deux bâtiments couraient l'un et l'autre à toute vapeur et la distance qui les séparait se trouva bientôt réduite jusqu'à la portée du canon. Alors l'*Alabama* changea de route et sembla d'écrire un demi-tour sur babord pour présenter la hanche de tribord à son adversaire, puis il commença le feu avec sa pièce à pivot de l'arrière. Les bâtiments pouvaient se trouver à 8 ou 9 encâblures l'un de l'autre et à 9 ou 10 milles de terre. Le *Kerseage* ne répondit pas à ce premier et ne commença à tirer qu'après le 3ième coup.

Cette position oblique en retraite prise par l'*Alabama* était certainement la position la plus sûre pour un bâtiment de faible échantillon comme l'*Alabama*; il présentait à l'ennemi un but restreint, il couvrait autant que possible sa machine et croyant avoir la supériorité de marche, il était maître de la distance. il attaquait l'ennemi avec sa pièce la plus puissante, dans la partie non cuirassée; mais soit que le Cap'ne Semmes se soit laissé emporter par son ardeur, soit qu'il ignorât, comme on l'assure, que le *Kerseage* fût cuirassé,¹² il resta très peu de temps dans cette position et faisant un demi-tour sur tribord, il alla croiser son adversaire à contre bord en le canonnant vivement par son côté de tribord. A partir de ce moment les deux adversaires ont tourné l'un autour de l'autre, sur des cercles dont les rayons ont varié depuis 4 encâblures jusqu'à 2 et se canonnant à contre bord par le côté tribord. On a compté jusqu'à 7 tours. Mais à ce jeu le *Kerseage* qui était blindé

¹⁰ The Roule is a height behind the town (110 m.) with a wide view.

¹¹ Cap Lévi.

¹² Semmes, pp. 753-754, complains bitterly of this "unchivalrous" protection as unknown to him; his lieutenant Arthur Sinclair, *Two Years on the Alabama* (third ed., Boston, 1896), pp. 259, 261, 274, says that Semmes had full knowledge of the fact, having been informed of it by the port admiral (*préfet maritime*) himself; Barron's letter of June 27 shows that he, Semmes's immediate superior, was aware of the essential facts. *Official Records*, III. 649.

sur le côté avait tout l'avantage, il pouvait de plus tirer avec ses deux énormes canons. Atteint de trois coups sur le côté dont deux près de la flottaison, le blindage en chaîne arrêta les projectiles qui auraient désarmé la machine s'ils avaient pénétré dans le bâtiment. sans le blindage l'issue du combat aurait pu être différente. quoiqu'il en soit, l'*Alabama* reçut des obus qui ébranlèrent sa charpente au point qu'il ne tarda pas à faire de l'eau. un éclat d'obus ou un boulet atteignit probablement une chaudière, car on vit tout à coup un nuage de vapeur s'échapper de ses flancs. Quelques personnes ont assuré qu'il reçut derrière un obus qui en éclatant le désarm[ait] de son hélice et de son gouvernail. toujours est-il que la machine s'arrêta et que l'*Alabama* mit à la voile tachant de rallier la terre; mais à partir de ce moment il était à la discrétion de son adversaire qui en a bien profité, car un moment après l'*Alabama* se rendit et ne tarda pas à couler à pic en s'enfonçant par l'arrière.

Tout se qui surnageait a été sauvé par le Canot du Pilote Mauger, les embarcations du *Kerseage*, et le yacht à vapeur anglais¹³ qui sauva le Cap'ne Semmes et les officiers et se dirigea vers les côtes d'Angleterre à la grande stupéfaction du Cap'ne Vinslow. Relativement à ce de-nouement désastre[ux] la perte en hommes n'a pas été considérable. On compte 2 noyés, 6 tués et 16 à 17 tués [blessés].

Le *Kerseage* a reçu trois boulets sur le blindage dans le prolongement de la cheminée qui n'ont produit qu'un effet insignifiant. un boulet a traversé la cheminée, deux projectiles ont traversé au ras du pont. l'un en éclatant a blessé trois hommes. ce sont les seuls blessés qui ait eu le *Kerseage*. un obus s'est logé dans la tête de l'étambot où il est resté sans éclater. l'étambot porte dans cette partie des fentes longitudinales, mais le système est solide.

Les deux champions se sont bien battus, le confédéré avec fougue, le Yankee avec flegme. l'*Alabama* a beaucoup tiré. Le *Kerseage* a tiré 130 coups, dont 52 avec les Dahlgreen.¹⁴

Voici quelles sont les dimensions des canons du *Kerseage*:

Canons Dahlgreen.

		Mesures Anglaises.
Diamètre de l'anse	27c.94	11 inches.
Longueur totale	4.12 [m.]	13 ft. 6 inch.
Poids du boulet plein	86.97 [kilos.]	192 pounds English.
" de l'obus	62.96	139 " "
Poids du canon	7701.00	17000 " "
Charge pour obus	6.800	15 " "
" pour boulet	9.07	20 " "
Vitesse initiale (douteux)	4267.	

Il n'y avait pas à bord du *Kerseage* de boulet plein pour cette artillerie, mais on m'assure que depuis peu des expériences ont conduit à adopter le boulet plein pour cette pièce.

¹³ The *Deerhound*.

¹⁴ 173 and 55 respectively. *Official Records*, III. 64.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

The Spiritual Interpretation of History. By SHAILER MATHEWS, A.M., D.D., LL.D., Professor of Historical and Comparative Theology at the University of Chicago and Dean of the Divinity School. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1916. Pp. x, 227. \$1.50.)

THE volume contains six lectures—the William Belden Noble Lectures—given at Harvard University. Their general purpose is to show the necessity of taking account of other than merely economic and geographical forces in interpreting human history. The author is for the most part commendably modest in his claims and does not press his points unduly. He is quite willing to admit the large place that impersonal forces have had in human history, but he rightly insists upon the recognition of other and spiritual motives co-operating with them. He is also sound in declining to estimate the relative importance of social forces.

If there is any habit of thought more dangerous than that of antithetical exposition—for who of us really knows enough to set reality in contradictions?—it is that of constantly questioning whether this or that fact is the more important. To ask whether the individual or society is more important is like asking whether the oak or the acorn is primary. Historical situations must be viewed synthetically, not analytically.

The first two lectures on the Limits within which the Spiritual Interpretation is Possible, and on Spiritual Tendencies in History as a Whole, seem somewhat perfunctory. The third, fourth, and fifth, on the Substitution of Moral for Physical Control, the Growing Recognition of the Worth of the Individual, and the Transformation of Rights into Justice, are suggestive and informing. The contention that genuine progress has been made along these three lines is supported by abundant illustrations, wholesome practical lessons are drawn from them, and the reasons for encouragement are emphasized in good homiletic fashion. Unfortunately there is no serious grappling with the problems raised by the war. A book on the spiritual interpretation of history appearing at this time might be expected at least to face some of these problems and to recognize their difficulty for the would-be interpreter.

The final lecture on the Spiritual Opportunity in a Period of Reconstruction, though practically helpful, is less compelling than could be wished, and betrays the benumbing effect of trying to combine science and religion in one discussion. The theistic conclusion somewhat hesi-

tatingly drawn in it is all too meagrely supported, and, although to be looked for in a series of lectures like the present, seems an intrusion in the context where it is found. The author apparently feels this, for he hastens on at once to other and I was about to say less controversial matters, but the assumption that his interpretation of history is the interpretation of Jesus would probably be as widely controverted.

The following passage summarizes the positions of the book and reveals the author's attitude and point of view with admirable clearness.

To give justice rather than to insist upon rights, to rely upon inner rather than outward moral control, to have every element of life expressive of the same spirit of love that God himself exhibits, and to regard love as not a desire to gain popular approval or even to get friends, but as a sacrificial determination to do to others as one would like to have others do to oneself—all this can be found as truly in any catholic reading of the facts of human history as in the words of Jesus. As has been repeatedly said, social evolution, conditioned as it is by the impersonal and economic world, is yet superior to that world. It is a spiritual movement which, if it be prolonged, will bring the world under the sway of the ideals of Jesus himself.

An Introduction to the History of Science. By WALTER LIBBY, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of the History of Science in the Carnegie Institute of Technology. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1917. Pp. x, 288. \$1.50.)

THERE has been considerable agitation of late for instruction in the history of science in our colleges and technical schools. This volume is a practical step in that direction.

The author has written a little book on a big subject in excellent English. Professor Libby's statement (p. 134), "Dr. Hutton presented his Theory of the Earth in ninety-six pages of perfectly lucid English", might well be applied to his own book, if we change the number of pages to 288. The style is condensed, but a pleasure to read.

How to approach the subject, how to organize the material, and how to present it to the reader, are problems which many of the longer histories of science have failed to solve satisfactorily. Professor Libby adheres roughly to chronological order, but his chapter-headings are topical. He discusses science as a whole and in the broadest sense, and does not as a rule consider the individual sciences separately. On the other hand, certain leaders of scientific thought and accomplishment are singled out, and their lives, personalities, and genius are entertainingly set forth. Perhaps another would not have chosen for emphasis just the names that the author has selected. English-speaking scientists, for example, seem to receive rather more than their due ratio of attention. But the author makes it clear enough that "science is international", and tells its story in a broad, human, and tolerant manner. Its relations to other fields of man's life—education, war, religion, industry, travel, philosophy, art, ethics, and democracy—are well touched

upon, and the closing chapter deals chiefly with Matthew Arnold and Nietzsche.

The book is intended particularly for "youth of from seventeen to twenty-two years of age" and has "the mental capacity of a certain class of readers always in view". It surely will interest young people of that age, but it should also appeal to maturer readers. It contains many interesting facts that will be new to most persons, and also a number of passages that set one thinking. Many history teachers might broaden their view of the past by perusing this volume, and especially in courses in English history it should prove useful for collateral reading. In the main the author has avoided technical scientific terminology and blind allusions, but some passages assume an acquaintance with general history or with this or that particular natural science on the part of the reader.

A few specific criticisms should be made. The author follows the old and incorrect chronology for ancient Oriental history, dating Sargon of Akkad, for instance, over a thousand years too early, in 3800 B.C. As with other histories of science, the chapter on the Middle Ages is the weak point of the book. It is unfair to medieval anatomy to call Galen "the only experimental physiologist before the time of Harvey" (p. 38); unfair to the medieval popes and clergy to say that "the long and cruel war between science and Christian theology had begun" (p. 47); unfair to medieval artists and artisans to devote a chapter to Vitruvius and say never a word of Gothic architecture and the guilds of industrious and inventive freemen; unfair to medieval alchemists to affirm, "The writings that have been attributed to Geber show the advances that chemistry made through the experiments of the Arabs" (p. 51), since Berthelot has shown that these writings were really Latin works of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and superior to Arabian alchemy in scientific character. Did Gerbert attend "Arab" (p. 53) or Christian schools in Spain? The statement that Roger Bacon "transmitted in a treatise that fell under the eye of Columbus the view of Aristotle in reference to the proximity of another continent on the other side of the Atlantic" (p. 54), is misleading in more than one respect. The treatise which Columbus read was by Pierre d'Ailly, and Aristotle said nothing about a new continent, but that the distance by sea west from Spain to India was short—one argument for this being, according to Bacon, that the elephants of India and northwestern Africa are so similar that those two lands must be close enough together to receive the influence of the same constellations.

LYNN THORNDIKE.

Cotton as a World Power: a Study in the Economic Interpretation of History. By JAMES A. B. SCHERER, Ph.D., LL.D., President of Throop College of Technology. (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. 1917. Pp. 452. \$2.00.)

PRESIDENT SCHERER'S idea in writing his history of cotton is found in the title which he has given his book—*Cotton as a World Power*. He seems to believe that there is a peculiar and intimate relation existing between the uses of cotton and the progress of civilization and growth of international relations. Cotton is, he says, "the world's Golden Fleece; the nations are bound together in its globe-engirdling web; so that when a modern economist concerns himself with the interdependence of nations, he naturally looks to cotton for his most effective illustration".

Whether cotton among fibres possesses any peculiar significance in the world's history, or is entitled to any higher rank as a civilizing force than, say, wool or flax, is perhaps a debatable subject, but in view of the numerous histories of cotton culture and cotton manufacture which have been written, President Scherer's reasons for calling this field of investigation "an unworked quarry of wealth" are not apparent. Nor can it be said that he has discovered any new and paying veins of ore. In spite of his references to researches in the Bodleian Library and the British Museum, his book contains no material drawn from new or unusual sources. All the references are to secondary authorities and most of them are to those well known to historians. It cannot even be said that the point of view from which he has approached his subject is original, or that he has given any new interpretation to his material. What he has done is to relate in a pleasing and popular style a wide array of events connected in one way or another with the history of the cotton plant.

The record begins with the discovery of cotton culture and cotton cultivation in India and the introduction of cotton fabrics into Europe by the armies of Alexander the Great, and continues down to the time when the Great War in Europe interrupted the orderly exports of cotton from the Southern States to European markets. The subjects which are dealt with at considerable length are the Industrial Revolution in England; the introduction of cotton cultivation in the United States and its effect in delaying the disappearance of slavery; the invention of the cotton gin; the influence of cotton culture in national politics; the effect of the Civil War upon the cotton trade; the cotton famine in Europe; the revival of cotton culture in the South by free labor; the development of the cotton manufacture in the South and the social problems which have arisen as a consequence, and the prospects of successful cotton growing elsewhere than in southern United States.

Some of the important conclusions reached by the author and which, while not beyond dispute, are supported by plausible arguments, are that Eli Whitney, while the inventor of the cotton gin, was not the inventor of the "saw gin"; that the South did not make the best use of its cotton resources as a means of obtaining revenue during the Civil War; that child labor in Southern cotton mills is less detrimental than it was in New England mills or than it is in department stores; that the Great

War has taught the Southern farmer the value of diversification of crops, and that cotton growing in California, in Egypt, and in other lands will probably become of sufficient importance in the near future to break the monopoly held by the South in the production of this staple.

Among the important subjects which it is surprising to find are not considered at sufficient length are the growth of the cotton-seed oil industry, the damage wrought by the boll-weevil and the efforts made to overcome this danger, and the increasing tendency to supplant negro labor by white labor in the cultivation of cotton.

If President Scherer's book be regarded not as an original piece of investigation in the field of economic history but as a useful summary of the researches of other writers who have dealt with the influence of cotton in the world's history, it can be warmly commended as a work interesting to read and fairly reliable in its facts and generalizations. There are some useful statistical appendixes, a handy bibliography, and a good index.

M. B. HAMMOND.

The Elements of International Law, with an Account of its Origin, Sources, and Historical Development. By GEORGE B. DAVIS. Fourth edition, revised by GORDON E. SHERMAN, formerly Assistant Professor of Comparative and International Law in Yale University. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1917. Pp. viii, 668. \$3.00.)

THIS volume is strictly what it purports to be, a revised edition of General Davis's work. He lived long enough to record the work of the two Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907, but not long enough to judge of its practical value. His third edition was published in 1908, before the adoption, *ad referendum*, of the Declaration of London. Professor Sherman prints in an appendix (H, pp. 604-620) the text of that paper, and a succinct and clear account of how far it has affected the pending European wars. Appendix I also gives our treaty of 1909 with the Dominican Republic.

It was, of course, desirable from the publishers' standpoint to make as few changes as might be, in the stereotype plates of the edition of 1908. It remains Davis's book. It remains a treatise in which the author writes as a military man, and gives special consideration to problems connected with war. This gives it a particular value at the present time.

Professor Sherman found it necessary to rewrite important parts of the first two chapters, which treat of the value and sources of international law and the nature of a political state. This he has done with discrimination and good judgment.

In printing the Declaration of London he has added notes, referring to the bearing of its dispositions on the present wars, as wrought

out in practice. One could wish that his annotations of this nature had been more numerous, if not more extended. Thus, the question of the right to mark off a *mare clausum* off an enemy's coast, which was considered with some favor by our Naval War College in 1912, and has been claimed by most of the belligerents since 1914, is not discussed or referred to, except (p. 607) in one of these notes to the chapter on the Declaration on "Blockade in Time of War". In this note it is briefly stated that "the provisions of this chapter are in large measure avoided by the war-zone device", and that the blockade of the Austro-Hungarian coast in 1915 "seemed to have been the only real blockade of the first year of war".

The book contains many recent papers, often the subject of reference, such as the British lists of contraband, absolute and conditional, up to April 30, 1915 (pp. 609-611); and new provisions of the Imperial German Prize Ordinance as revised April 8, 1915 (pp. 614-615). It also refers to several important American statutes passed and departmental regulations prescribed, since the publication of the third edition, such as the compilation of circulars as to citizenship and passports, published by the State Department in 1915 (p. 164), and (p. 602) the "United States Radio Communication Laws and Regulations" of 1914.

As to the questions raised by the sinking of the *Lusitania*, Professor Sherman takes the view (p. 30) that "international law will protect the *lives* of all non-combatants afloat or ashore; and whether the merchant-ship be neutral or hostile, whether it carry contraband or non-contraband goods, the belligerent has, indeed, a right to enforce search of neutrals and a right to capture belligerent merchant-ships, but none of these may be *destroyed* until human life aboard has been placed in safety". In discussing the case of the *Nereide* (9 Cranch 388) he holds that Marshall's opinion justifies the proposition asserted in the memorandum of our State Department of March 25, 1916, that merchant vessels are under no circumstances subject to attack on the ground that they are armed for defense. He adds that these principles apply with great force to modern submarine warfare; that a submarine is not justified in attacking and destroying a merchantman, either belligerent or neutral, because it is armed, or because it carries contraband merchandise, without first removing all passengers and papers of value; and that if the vessel be then destroyed, the belligerent must be taken to assume all risk of having acted without warrant of law (p. 602).

The proof-reading has been poorly done.

Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture: a Study in Method. By E. SAPIR. [Canada, Department of Mines, Geological Survey, Memoir 90, no. 13, Anthropological Survey.] (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau. 1916. Pp. ii, 87.)

TEMPORAL flatness of the available data is the one great weakness of that branch of historical science called ethnology. For the student

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of prehistory, historical perspective almost invariably means speculative reconstruction. This circumstance, together with the fact that ethnology has often been called upon by other sciences, such as history, sociology, law, ethics, to give a categorical answer to the problems of ultimate origins, is responsible for the over-crowding of anthropological books and journals with fantastic speculations which are at best of interest as material for the ethnologist rather than as contributions to ethnological science. The critical student is therefore doubly concerned about a careful methodology of historic reconstruction in ethnology. For him Dr. Sapir's *Study in Method* will prove a rare treat. The author brings to his task good general knowledge of anthropological fact and theory as well as distinctly unusual qualifications as a linguist. This explains the unequal value of the two parts into which the work informally falls. The first, considerably the longer, deals with time perspective in connection with general cultural data, and presents no more than a clear and concise summary of work done by others, often with greater wealth of argumentation and more fortunate in formulation. The briefer second part examines linguistic evidence from the same standpoint; it brings original data and opens new vistas.

To turn to some of the generalizations arrived at in the first part. Culture elements which are presupposed by other elements in order to make the existence of the latter possible, must be regarded as earlier in time (p. 15). A well-defined style in any domain of culture always stands for relative age (p. 18). The larger the territory covered by a cultural trait, the older, *ceteris paribus*, the trait (p. 28). The interrupted distribution of a feature may serve to establish its minimum age, for it must clearly be ascribed to a period preceding that in which were active the factors responsible for the discontinuous distribution (p. 41). Incidentally the author takes pains to emphasize, with great justice, that the various aspects of culture, such as social organization, religion, art, mythology, technical features, display vastly different modes of behavior in connection with cultural diffusion (p. 32). Therefore, adds the author, it is of the greatest importance to ascertain the paths of diffusion of culture in North America, a task hardly begun (pp. 35-36).

Passing to the linguistic discussion, Dr. Sapir cautions that linguistics can be drawn upon for historical reconstruction in culture only to the extent to which language reflects culture (pp. 51-52). This is eminently the case with vocabulary, which can often be utilized for purposes of relative chronology. Noting, *e. g.*, that the Tsimshian term for phratry defies analysis while that for crest is readily analyzable, one is led to conclude that some form of phratric division antedated among the Tsimshian the appearance of phratric and clan badges (pp. 55-56). Another test is the "criterion of morphologic irregularity": a culture concept associated with an archaic linguistic process is itself an old one; although the reverse conclusion cannot be drawn with safety (p. 64). The analysis of grammatical categories may also throw light on cultural conditions: thus the existence of

numerical classifiers in Yurok referring specifically to woodpecker scalps and obsidian blades is in a high degree symptomatic of the great age of the custom of prizing these objects as valuable forms of property and further implies that the keen sense of property evinced by these Indians is by no means a recent development. Similarly, the occurrence in both Salish and Tsimshian of numerical classifiers defining canoes necessitates the conclusion that both groups of tribes have not only been acquainted with the canoe from time immemorial, but have long been dependent on it in the pursuit of their livelihood; this comes out even more strongly in the case of Tsimshian, which employs entirely distinct stems for "one" and "two" when these numbers refer to canoes (p. 65).

When a term used in one language can be shown to belong to another used by a different tribe, the fact is valuable not merely as indicating diffusion, but the direction of diffusion as well (p. 69).

Specific enumeration of the author's conclusions must stop at this point, but before closing one is tempted to emphasize the double significance of Dr. Sapir's contribution. On the one hand, it kindles the hope that the deficient historical perspective in ethnology will in time be offset, at least in a measure, by the rigor of reconstructive technique. On the other hand, the *Study in Methods* is symptomatic of the new spirit of ethnologic science, which, having gathered in vast stores of descriptive data, begins to take stock of its resources, and sets about the task of interpretation and reconstruction with a method progressively more critical and precise, and under the guidance of a rapidly maturing body of theoretic doctrine.

A. A. GOLDENWEISER.

Storia dei Romani. Per GAETANO DE SANCTIS. Volume III. *L'Età delle Guerre Puniche*. Parts I., II. (Milan, Turin, Rome: Fratelli Bocca. 1917. Pp. ix, 432; viii, 727. 12 lire.)

AFTER an interval of nine years since the publication of volumes I. and II., the third volume of de Sanctis's great history makes its appearance. In the first volume, a criticism of the tradition and a description of contemporary institutions were interwoven. In the second one, with the formation of the Latin League the narrative element comes into somewhat greater prominence, and when we reach the war with Pyrrhus, toward the end of this volume, a reasonably consecutive and trustworthy narrative is possible. In this last installment of his work the author has taken another step forward in his method of treating the subject, by giving us a continuous narrative in his successive chapters, and by consigning his treatment of critical questions to appendixes and foot-notes. In discussing in a brief review a volume which contains over 1100 pages and nearly 1200 foot-notes, we shall be obliged to limit ourselves to comments on the scope of the work, on the author's critical attitude, and his conclusions on two or three very fundamental questions.

Part I. of the volume opens with a sketch of the history and civilization of the Carthaginians, and closes with their occupation of southern Spain. Part II. carries us from the outbreak of the Second Punic War to the conclusion of peace in 201 B.C. The chronological limits which the author has chosen give unusual dramatic unity to this part of his history. We have set before us the titanic struggle between Rome and Carthage—nothing more. Even Rome's war with Philip of Macedon is treated, and very properly, as an episode in the Second Punic War and is styled "*La guerra annibalica in Oriente*". We cannot quite sympathize, however, with the author's neglect of the political, social, and economic history of the period for the sake of securing continuity to his military narrative. Perhaps a discussion of the economic effects of the war with Hannibal, of the leasing of great tracts of land in Italy, and of the establishment of the tenant system has been relegated to the next volume, but we have a right to expect in this volume something on the remarkable *entente cordiale* between the senate and the popular assemblies during the period of the great wars and on the violation of oligarchical policy involved in the retention for long terms of such commanders as the Scipios and Marcellus. The book might have been called *Le Guerre Puniche* rather than *L'Età delle Guerre Puniche*.

However, as a military history, it is incomparable. De Sanctis has both the critical and the constructive faculties in a remarkable degree. Characteristic illustrations of the acumen and the sanity of his critical analysis are furnished by his discussions of the sources for the history of the First Punic War and its chronology in the appendix to chapters II. and III., or in his study of the Sicilian tithing system (pt. II., pp. 347-354). In his critical methods the author has wisely steered a middle course between the skepticism of historians like Païs and the traditionalism of many writers of the Italian school. So far as the author's acquaintance with the pertinent ancient and modern literature is concerned, in a somewhat minute study of selected parts of the work the reviewer was unable to find a single important passage in ancient literature or a modern treatise of value which had not been taken into account. Next in importance to the author's reconstruction of the story of the Punic Wars and his critical appendixes are the technical analyses in part II. of the great battles and campaigns of the Second Punic War. These analyses are supplemented by maps at the end of the volume.

The most serious point in which the reviewer cannot follow de Sanctis is in the author's analysis of the situation which gave rise to the war with Hannibal. We believe with him that war to the death between Rome and Carthage was inevitable, and that the desire of the Barcid family for revenge and for the humiliation of Rome was the impelling cause on the Carthaginian side, but we cannot think with him that the Romans went into the war for the sake of taking Spain and her mines and her valuable trade away from Carthage (I. 425). The war was thrust upon Rome, and as Frank has said in his *Roman Im-*

perialism (p. 125), "Rome doubtless intended if successful to demand an indemnity and end the affair". The only way in which considerations of trade influenced the Romans was an indirect one. The commerce of Massilia was suffering severely at the hands of the Carthaginians, and she undoubtedly exerted herself to the utmost to bring her Roman ally into the field against Carthage, so that trade interests played some part in bringing on the war, but not in the way in which de Sanctis implies. In the same connection (I. 418) de Sanctis remarks, "Ma essendo Sagunto città iberica a mezzogiorno dell'Ebro, è evidente che se l'alleanza con Roma era anteriore al trattato d'Asdrubale, a' sensi di esso i Romani s'erano impegnati, almeno implicitamente, a rinunziarvi; se posteriore, costituiva una deroga almeno implicita a quello". This reasoning is open to the double objection that it projects back into the third century before Christ the modern doctrine of the sphere of influence and runs counter to the fact that "in no ancient source is there the slightest indication that Carthage considered her rights in Spain to have been infringed by the Saguntine treaty".¹

This volume has a peculiar interest at the present time, because no war in the past furnishes so close a parallel to the present war as does the struggle between Rome and Carthage, both in respect to the two protagonists, the questions at issue, and the course of events. That the author has kept his eyes fixed solely on the events of the third century, and has not allowed his interpretation of them to be influenced by conditions in 1914-1917, reflects no small credit upon the soundness of his judgment and his detachment as a scholar.

FRANK FROST ABBOTT.

Manuel d'Archéologie Romaine. Par R. CAGNAT, Membre de l'Institut, Professeur au Collège de France, et V. CHAPOT, Docteur ès Lettres, Ancien Membre de l'École d'Athènes. Tome Premier. *Les Monuments, Décoration des Monuments, Sculpture.* (Paris: Auguste Picard. 1917. Pp. xxvi, 735. 15 fr.)

THIS is the first volume of our first manual of Roman archaeology. Stuart Jones's *Companion to Roman History*, Sandys's *Companion to Latin Studies*, and Baumgarten, Poland, and Wagner's *Hellenistisch-Römische Kultur* are all manuals with archaeological inclinations, but none lays titular claim to the entire field. MM. Cagnat and Chapot do make such claim. In this first volume they treat of monuments and their sculptural decoration, in the second volume they are to take up painting and mosaic, and the *instrumenta* of public and private life.

The poor quality of paper used in the book reflects war times. It makes no great difference, to be sure, but many illustrations (there are 371 in the book), especially those reproduced from photographs, have lost the sharpness that is needed to bring out detail. The things one

¹ Frank, *Roman Imperialism*, p. 124.

sees in all the books are reproduced as a matter of course, but it is a pleasure to find illustrations of new monuments, especially from Africa, where the French have been doing so much good archaeological work these past fifteen or twenty years.

The chapters (I. and II.) on building materials and their use are very satisfactory, and the notes—as is true throughout the book—show widespread up-to-date reading and careful discrimination. For example, in the matter of dating imperial brick-faced constructions, the authors mention the brick stamps, but they accept the canons of mortar and brick measurements as lately laid down by Dr. Esther B. Van Deman of the Carnegie Institution. Again, McCabe's *Roman Empresses* is mentioned, but the reader is warned about it, and rightly so. By the time one finishes chapter XVI., the last chapter of part I., he will have a pretty definite idea about the towns, their walls and gates, their aqueducts and fountains, their fora and the various buildings therein. Illustrations both fix and qualify the statements that the fora in the towns of the provinces took the Forum Magnum at Rome as their model. But the differences are as important as the likenesses, and practical reasons inspired enough variations in form to qualify decidedly the Greek-inspired dictum as to Roman slavishness of imitation. The temples, the various buildings for athletic and theatrical spectacles, the baths, libraries, camps, honorary and funeral monuments, all have their share of attention. Perhaps monuments that have been lately discovered or that have escaped general notice get at times something more than their due share.

The decoration of monuments is the general subject of part II., and in thirteen chapters, portraits—ideal for divinities, idealized for emperors, and realistic for other persons—genre subjects, decorative relief, and bas-relief of several sorts, lamps, stucco and ceramic reliefs, are handled in much detail, but with conservative judgment. The authors do not allow the Romans any creative credit beyond the wax masks of the atrium. Less than justice seems to have been done the Romans in historical relief work, perhaps to counteract the over-enthusiasm of several recent writers on Roman art.

There are almost no typographical errors in the book, and few errors of fact. The temple of Castor (note 1, p. 113) is wrongly called Castor and Pollux on page 22, the Via Appia (p. 44) is not in as good preservation as stated, Ponte Amato should have been added to the bridge list (p. 48), "Le Sette Sale" (p. 87) are not on the Aventine but on the Esquiline, the four reservoirs mentioned by Fernique, Nibby, and Marucchi, and the great one described by Magoffin in his book on Praeneste should have been mentioned (p. 91), Canina is given more credit than he deserves, to the exclusion of Nibby and Piranesi, Cuq's correct explanation of *insula* was not seen by the authors (p. 292). Particularly worthy of remark, on the other hand, are the classification of sarcophagi (p. 333), the settling of "tear-bottles" as *unguentaria*

(p. 334), the fact that Honos is the only masculine abstract divinity (p. 461), and the arrangement of imperial iconographic groups (p. 501).

R. V. D. MAGOFFIN.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

History of Serbia. By HAROLD W. V. TEMPERLEY, Fellow and Assistant Tutor, Peterhouse, Cambridge. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd. 1917. Pp. x, 359. \$4.00.)

ALTHOUGH the author meant to write a history of Serbia in the nineteenth century, he finally decided to cover the history of that country from its beginnings to 1914. He gives as his reasons that the "principles of strategy are eternal" and that geography has affected diplomacy in Serbia in a "strikingly similar way". He, therefore, emphasizes the geography of the home of the South Slavs and follows this admirable survey, based largely on Cvijić or Newbigin, by an account of the medieval Serbian states, borrowing heavily from Jireček, the best authority. Serbia is always the main thread of the story, although Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Croatia, and Dalmatia are brought in to secure a better horizon. One chapter is devoted to Serbian medieval society, three to Turkish domination, two to the struggle for independence, four to the history of Serbia since 1815, and one, the last in the book, to the Macedonian question.

The author has not written a work essentially from primary sources, nor has he read material published in Serbian or other Slavic languages, but has produced a popular history based on secondary materials in the Western languages. He is interested in the political and geographical history of the Serbian people, not in their economic and social evolution. For this, Jireček's wonderful study of medieval Serbian society and the works of Janitch, Kessler, Jovanovitch, Nestorovitch, Krikner, and the publications of the Serbian government should have been used. Diplomatic history, which, in its details, would have illustrated the author's extensive geographical knowledge, has been inadequately handled, especially after 1875. In this period, the fundamental works of Ristitch, Rachitch, Peritch, and others are indispensable. Hence, the treatment of Serbia before the nineteenth century is the better part of the book.

In a very able manner, the author has pointed out how the geography of the Balkans has been an obstacle to South Slav unity and how modern inventions and educational forces are fast overcoming the greatest barriers after those of different religions and alphabets. But the effect of geographical obstacles should have been traced down into the time of railroad building.

The author is to be congratulated for his emphasis on the fact that "Serbia was not fully a nation before she became an empire" (p. 91),

an observation which applies admirably to many medieval states. Stephen Dushan's determination to build up a great cosmopolitan land empire at Constantinople, in preference to a national naval empire on the Adriatic, is only further evidence of the obscurity of vision, on the part of the Slavs, to the rôle which sea power would play in future history.

In another sentence the author very aptly states a fact more evident to-day than ever before: "The victory of the Turks over the Serbs was a victory less of arms than of institutions" (p. 106). The Turks had developed a standing army and a government or polity organized for military conquest, which neither the Serbs nor Western Europe possessed, owing to the character of their feudalism and the weakness of their kings. The author will hardly be able to substantiate his position that "Turkish rule does not appear to have been as oppressive as that of a Latin conqueror might have been" (p. 120). He has given enough evidence himself that it was otherwise.

Among the more apparent defects in the work may be noted the following. The original home of the Slavs was certainly further north than that indicated (p. 9). Names such as Šafařík, Jagić, Hrebelianovitch, and others are not uniformly spelled in the book. The bibliography is good, though lacking in the works mentioned above, but the index is inadequate.

On the whole, while Mr. Temperley has written the best popular account of the history of Serbia in the English language, he verifies the truth of his own words that "Slavonic nationalities are the despair of the historian".

R. J. KOERNER.

Promotion of Learning in India during Muhammadan Rule (By Muhammadans). By NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., B.L. With a Foreword by H. BEVERIDGE, F.A.S.B., I.C.S. (Retired). (London: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1916. Pp. xlviii, 260. \$4.50.)

To turn from the contemplation of evil in order to examine exclusively the good of any nation is an unusual but gratifying method of historical research. The evil that Mahmud and other tyrannical bigots have done has lived after them for a thousand years and Mr. Narendra Nath Law feels it is high time to bring into stronger light the good so long interred with their bones. For this purpose the genial author of *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity* has associated with himself a number of Indian Muhammadans and compiled this attractive account of Muhammadan imperial virtues, chiefly educational; but *Promotion of Learning* leads the authors naturally to animadvert upon other laudable traits than that of fostering talent.

This book is not wholly the product of fresh investigation. Elliot's

History of India as told by its own Historians has furnished some of the material. But that work and others here drawn upon do not bring Pathan culture into clear relief. They give the impression that the House of Ghazni and the following Houses were more devoted to their own Kultur than to culture. Therefore it is pleasant to be reminded again that Mahmud, who has appeared a monster of cruelty, founded colleges, subventioned poets, and even, as a token of appreciation, rewarded a philosopher by thrice filling the sage's mouth with jewels. Some of Mahmud's successors also were cultivators of science and art. Even Alauddin, who came to the throne so ignorant that he could not read, soon remedied his defects and patronized scholars until his reign (1300) became famous for its poets and university professors.

At this time Muhammadans and Hindus, victors and victims, first began to study each other's literatures and native princesses were wedded to Muhammadan princes. Somewhat later Muhammad Tughlak even studied Greek philosophy and natural sciences, to which he was so devoted that he personally attended patients suffering from unusual diseases, in order to perfect his knowledge of medicine. Firuz Shah, his successor, was the first to preserve archaeological remains, such as the Pillars of Ashoka. Timur (Tamerlane) during a siege (1399) gave express orders that the houses of learned men should not be razed. He also richly endowed various seats of scholarship attached to mosques. The Pathan rulers are not of course on the level of the Mughals, but, as our author says, their contributions to the cause of education should suffice to prove that they were not wholly given over to battle and bloodshed.

The period of the Mughals before its decline (two centuries, 1526-1707) offers little difficulty to the author and his friends. Babar was a scholar, poet, and musician, and his successor Humayun was an astrologer and savant who gave learned and religious men precedence before the nobles. Akbar instituted meetings for debate, favored Hindu literature, married a Christian, and was really "a most enlightened and liberal monarch", regarding whose education Mr. Law, in an important "Addendum", has given us really new information (compare especially the question whether *ummi* means illiterate or taciturn). It is noteworthy that Babar introduced colored pictures of animals into his *Memoirs*, perhaps the first Indian work to be "illustrated". Painting and music were encouraged especially by Akbar.

The last chapter of this handsome quarto, which is well supplied with indexes, is devoted to the subject of female education. Girls as well as boys went to school. About 1500, "school-mistresses and women to read prayers" were employed in the Sultan's seraglio. Babar's daughter and Humayun's niece were "learned ladies". One of Aurungzib's daughters knew Persian and Arabic and was skilled in calligraphy; her sister knew the Quran by heart. No evidence is given that nobles or lower classes followed the court in thus educating women,

but Mr. Law's final word on the subject is that "we are justified in the conclusion" that Muhammadan ladies in general were "not so ignorant as it is generally supposed".

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.

Vespucci Reprints, Texts and Studies. Volumes II., IV., V., VI., VII. *Lettera di Amerigo Vespucci delle Isole Nuovamente trovate in Quattro Suoi Viaggi* [1504], Facsimile. *Amerigo Vespucci: Letter to Piero Soderini, Gonfaloniere. The Year 1504.* Translated with Introduction and Notes by GEORGE TYLER NORTHUP. *Mundus Novus, Letter to Lorenzo Pietro di Medici.* Translated by GEORGE TYLER NORTHUP. *Paesi Novamente Ritrovati et Novo Mondo da Alberico Vesputio Florentino Intitulato* [1508], Facsimile. *Sensuyt le Nouveau Monde et Navigations Faictes par Emeric Vespuce Florentin. Des Pays et Isles Nouvellement trouvez auparavant a nous inconnuez tant en l'Ethiopie que Arrabie Calichut et aultres plusieurs Regions Estranges.* Translate de Italien en Langue Francoise par Mathurin du Redouer, *Licencie es Loix*, [1515], Facsimile. (Princeton: Princeton University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1916. Pp. 32; 52, 65; 13; 166; 184. \$6.75.)

THIS series, as explained in each of these five scholarly volumes, had its origin in the gifts to the Princeton University Library, by Mr. Cyrus H. McCormick, of eight tracts relating to Vespucci, all formerly in the famous Hoe Collection. Because of the need for inexpensive and reliable copies of prime sources, authority was granted for the publication of any of the McCormick gifts in facsimile together with other basic documents, in order that they might be used in the training of the critical faculty in students of American history. The definite subject-matter of the first volume of the series, which is not yet published, has not been announced. Volume III. will be a facsimile of the Florence Manuscript of the Soderini Letter. Provision has also been made for the publication of as many as possible of the various editions of the Latin text of the *Mundus Novus* or Medici Letter, together with a critical bibliographical study of them by Mr. George P. Winship; the *Von der new Gefunden Region*; the Latin version of the Soderini Letter, etc. The five volumes already published are a distinct contribution to Vespucciana, and the student of the early origins of America will await with impatience the remaining volumes of the series. Their scholarly and dignified appearance and their mechanical excellence, coupled with their very moderate price, should all combine to give them a wide circulation. The three facsimiles, admirably reproduced by the photographic method, offer students sources as valuable as the rare

originals, indeed more valuable, because of the inaccessibility of the originals.

Of the original of *Lettera di Amerigo Vespucci delle Isole Nuovamente trovate in Quattro Suoi Viaggi*, the famous Soderini Letter, probably printed not later than January, 1506, there are but five known copies, one only of which is in the United States. This last, formerly the Quaritch and Kalbfleisch copy, has been reproduced in photographic facsimile several times, so that the actual document has been fairly accessible. The Soderini Letter was also published, but not in photographic facsimile, by Bandini (1745), Canovai (1817), and Varnhagen (1865), but each of these editions contains serious faults. There is also the well-known Latin version by Martin Waldseemüller, *Cosmographiae Introductio* (St. Dié, 1507), with its many reissues and translations. The jumbled Ramusio version is rather a curiosity than a thing of permanent value, when compared with other versions of the letter. The many English translations are a further proof of the lasting interest of Vespucci to the historian. The Princeton facsimile of this letter is above criticism except in one point—and this is true of the other facsimiles made from the same copy of the original—namely the blemish in the types on page 10. The same blemish—the smashing or dropping out of several letters, so that two words are illegible—may or may not occur in the other four known copies of the original. If it does, a note should have been added to the volume. If not, that page or a portion of it should have been photographed from one of the other copies, and a note added in regard to it—which could have been inserted at the end or in a preface without destroying the unity of the old print. The same criticism might be offered in regard to the facsimile of the compilation of voyages, *Sensuyt le Nouveau Monde*. Pages 171 and 182 should each have been photographed from one of the other original copies, in case one be whole, in order to preserve the four obliterated lines of the Princeton copy. The above book is the French translation of the *Paesi Novamente Ritrovati*, a compilation of early voyages by Montalboddo Fracazio, among the narratives being a version of the *Mundus Novus* of Vespucci. The three facsimiles would have been improved, so far as their use is concerned, had they been accompanied by bibliographies. It has evidently been the aim of the editors to issue the facsimiles, as far as possible, exactly in their old form without extraneous matter, and it may be the intention to present a complete Vespucci bibliography before the end of the series is reached, as well as the announced bibliography of the *Mundus Novus*. It is hoped that this will be done, for the Vespucci bibliography is as yet by no means complete, despite the researches of Varnhagen, Harrisse, and others.

The other two volumes, both translations by Professor George Tyler Northup, of Toronto University, will undoubtedly have a wider use than the facsimiles, for the majority of historians, as well as of other people, will go to a good translation rather than to the original. Those few

who prefer the originals will find it convenient to use the translations side by side with them. Volume V. presents probably the best translation into English that has yet been made of the *Mundus Novus*. This has been made from the Latin version published at Vienna in 1504, for the original Italian manuscript has probably been lost, but Professor Northup has been able to use previous translations. This letter has been published in several languages and in many editions. The promised Winship bibliography will be a welcome addition to the tools of the historian.

But of all five volumes, the fourth, the translation of the famous Soderini Letter, with its admirable introduction, offers most interest and value. Here is a work replete with the best that scholarship can offer. In his painstaking labor, Professor Northup has done what few men would care to do, for this is work that demands not only a certain training and acquirement, but a certain temperament as well. This is, in fact, more than a translation. Professor Northup has done what Napione, Gustavo Hughes, and Uzielli dreamed over—constructed a critical text of this most perplexing Vespucci letter—and his work will not have to be done over again. The problem he set himself was philological not historical.

Vespucci's writings . . . have suffered at the hands of translators, copyists, printers, and even, it is to be feared, at those of modern editors. The texts on which we base our judgments are vastly different from those which left the author's hand. The extant versions of these must be critically examined, collated, and classified; critical texts must be established before historians can hope to form accurate judgments based upon Vespucci's writings.

There has been no attempt before to furnish something better than the confessedly erroneous texts that have been used. Professor Northup's aim is first to describe the three extant versions in which this narrative has come down to us; next, to work out their filiation and trace their descent; then, to state the principles of textual criticism which should be employed in deciding between variant readings. After this will follow an English translation . . . not based like previous translations upon a single text, but upon all three, following the better readings and supplying omissions.

The three texts selected are the Florentine print, which is labelled "P", the Magliabecchiana MS., labelled "M", and the Waldseemüller translation into Latin, the *Cosmographiae Introductio*, labelled "H". The first probably more nearly approaches the half-Spanish, half-Italian original, and the second is an eighteenth-century copy of a copy made in 1505 from a manuscript source differing somewhat from that from which "P" was printed. Professor Northup's attempt to construct the original text of the letter as it reached the hands of Piero Soderini in 1504 is ingenious, and his reasoning will generally be accepted as sound. He has proceeded on the theory that when two of these three versions agree as against the third the two have the correct reading. When all

three are different, the one that is in accord with known facts or with common sense is the correct reading. In the case of the most delicate differences where facts and common sense cannot come to his aid, he has frankly fallen back on subjective impression, assuming that reading to be the correct one because it seems to be correct. Obviously this is the only one of the three methods on which there can be much difference of opinion and it constitutes the only weak point in the building up of the critical text. But the original text is not reached, according to Professor Northup, by a mere comparison of the three versions. He believes that "P" and "M" proceeded from a common ancestor, each deriving through one or more intermediate forms. The immediate common ancestor of these two versions and of "H" in turn proceeded from another common ancestor, which itself proceeded from the original, with the possibility of one or more intermediate forms at each stage. Professor Northup does not attempt to construct the barbaric text of the original, but does try to give the original text in an English translation, and probably with fair success. For instance, he concludes, as most historians already have, that "Parias" is the correct reading as against the reading "Lariab" of the "P" version, because found in both "M" and "H". Many of the passages of "H", which have quite generally been considered to be interpolations by Waldseemüller, he decides are part of the original, as some of them are found also in "M", and others seem probable though in neither "P" nor "M". In his translation, he shows by the mechanical devices of brackets and italics the readings adopted from "M" and "H", and at the end of the volume, he gives the variants of the three versions in the language of the version.

With Canovai and Harris, Professor Northup believes that the Vespucci documents have not come down to us in the form in which Vespucci penned them, and that the Soderini Letter was at least partly based on a Spanish original. The only wholly autograph letter by Vespucci that has come down is written in correct Spanish, and this Professor Northup accepts as trustworthy evidence that Vespucci was well versed in that language—a not oversound reason, as Vespucci might easily have employed a Spaniard to write the letter for him and have later copied it himself. With better reasoning he believes it unlikely that Vespucci, who had left Italy so late in his life, could have forgotten his native language so thoroughly as to write the bastard jargon of the Soderini Letter. The earliest form of this, he thinks, was a report in Spanish to his Spanish patron, to whom he quite naturally would write first. Later, to save himself time and trouble, he had someone else copy it into Italian. The result was the Soderini version, which was made by a careless translator, whose work often becomes a mere transliteration. However, as Professor Northup admits, the matter is not to be settled in a moment, but should be passed on by a jury of competent Romance philologists. Of real help is the

treatment of the Hispanisms (he uses the inharmonious term "hispanicisms") of the letter, which have been mentioned by other critics of Vespucci. These he has carefully collected and classified. He divides them into three classes: first, words reported by others as Hispanisms, but which are really old Italian or dialectical forms; second, undoubted or probable Hispanisms; and third, less certain instances in which it is impossible to say whether the word belongs to the one language or the other. Most students will accept his statement that the letter shows no Portuguese influence, since the so-called Portuguese forms may be resolved into Spanish or Italian. The whole introduction is well worthy a careful study with constant reference to the original and the translation. Professor Northup has performed a service which it is hoped will prove an incitement to other scholars, for there is still much work necessary to be done on the earliest sources of American history.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

English Domestic Relations, 1487-1653: a Study of Matrimony and Family Life in Theory and Practice as Revealed by the Literature, Law, and History of the Period. By CHILTON LATHAM POWELL, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1917. Pp. xii, 274. \$1.50.)

LESS than two decades ago the family, as a social institution with a vitally significant history, was almost a *terra incognita* save to special students in the fields of anthropology and sociology. Within the last fifteen years, however, excellent historical and social studies of marriage and the family institution have appeared in English, of which the most scholarly is unquestionably Professor Howard's *History of Matrimonial Institutions*, published in 1904. Dr. Powell's book on *English Domestic Relations* marks a new era, in which intensive studies of family ideals and practices in certain fruitful periods will increasingly be made.

The author declares the subject of his investigation to be

that of domestic relations in England, including both the contract of marriage (its making and breaking) and the subsequent life of the family. The period involved extends from the first appearance of the subject in English writing up to its first great crisis, a height of clear thinking and vigorous expression on which Milton and Cromwell stand alone.

With painstaking care Dr. Powell has examined a long array of legal and controversial works, dealing with questions of spousals, marriage, and divorce. Some of these writings have been referred to, more or less briefly, by previous gleaners in this field; others, as the author assures us, "have been examined for the first time in connection with the subject of marriage". In the opening chapters of Dr. Powell's book the development of the heated controversies waged by Anglicans and Dis-

senters over the marriage contract and ceremony and over matters of divorce jurisdiction and legislation is clearly traced, with liberal quotations from the works of leading writers. The early practice of the Anglican Church as set forth by Harrington in his quaint *Comendacions of Matrymony* (1528) is brought into sharp contrast with the views of such prominent Dissenters as Brown and Robert Barrow. Particularly interesting and valuable is the chapter on the Attempted Reform of Divorce. Here the enlightened views of Bishop Hooper, Cartwright, John Rainolds, and other reformers, who upheld the doctrine of divorce for adultery, desertion, and "poisonings", are set over against the conservative attitude of the Established Church, which steadfastly clung to ancient Catholic practice.

Perhaps the most valuable portions of Dr. Powell's book are the chapters describing and analyzing the Domestic Conduct Book of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Contemporary Attitudes towards Woman and the Wider Ranges of Domestic Literature. As the author rightly points out, this field "has been almost entirely neglected in connection with the present subject". And the field is both rich and interesting. Finally, four appendixes are added to the book, in the first of which a complete account is given for the first time of the divorce suit of Henry VIII., and in the second, a new conception of the married life of Milton and the cause of his famous divorce tracts is advanced.

Such a careful and detailed study as Dr. Powell's should be sincerely welcomed by every student of the family. The fresh material it assembles and the painstaking way in which it traces the evolution of new ideas concerning marriage and divorce make it a genuine contribution to the growing body of literature on this subject.

WILLYSTINE GOODSSELL.

The Seconde Parte of a Register: being a Calendar of Manuscripts under that Title intended for Publication by the Puritans about 1593, and now in Dr. Williams's Library, London. Edited by ALBERT PEEL, M.A., Litt.D., B.Litt., Fellow of the Royal Historical Society. With a Preface by C. H. FIRTH, LL.D., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. In two volumes. (Cambridge: University Press. 1915. Pp. xviii, 311; 328. \$6.50.)

ABOUT 1593 there was printed without name of publisher or place, but probably from the press of Robert Waldegrave in Edinburgh, or by that of Richard Schilders, possibly in London, a now rare volume, long known to students of English Puritanism, entitled *A Parte of a Register; contayninge sundrie memorable Matters, written by divers godly and learned in our Time, which stande for and desire the Reformation of our Church, in Discipline and Ceremonies, accordinge to the pure Worde of*

God and the Lawe of our Lande. It was a collection of Puritan papers, letters, petitions, complaints, arguments, and proceedings of the ecclesiastical authorities, written between 1570 and 1588.

The title indicated that it was a portion of a larger collection, which the repressive action of the government prevented from publication in its entirety. In fact most copies of the *Parte of a Register* printed were destroyed by the authorities. Where the manuscripts for proposed further issues may now be, if in existence, is unknown; but fortunately they were copied, in the seventeenth century, for Roger Morrice (1628–1702), a clergyman of Puritan sympathies, and the transcript came in some way, now unknown, into the Williams Library of London. The collection was carelessly, but somewhat extensively, used by Neal in his *History of the Puritans*, and by Brook in his *Lives of the Puritans*, and it has been consulted on special topics by a few other authors. In general, it has been neglected or ignored.

The marked recent interest in Elizabethan religious history has induced Dr. Albert Peel to prepare a careful calendar which constitutes the volumes now under review. The work has been admirably done. The calendar includes 257 documents, the more important of which lie between 1570 and 1590, and the large majority in the last ten years of that period. Their content is such as to justify the claim of the editor "that no accurate account of the ecclesiastical history of the years 1570–1590 can be written without consulting them".

Naturally such a collection is of a very miscellaneous character, but there is abundant evidence of the aims of the Puritans, of the attempts made to realize those wishes in practice, and of the resistance encountered from the ecclesiastical authorities. Much light is thrown on the extent and localities of the Puritan movement among the clergy, and on the relatively scanty participation of the laity in it, in contrast to the seventeenth century. For the general student of the religious conditions of the period no documents are more suggestive than the elaborate surveys of the ministry of a considerable portion of England prepared by Puritans in 1586, and giving names of clergymen, parishes, sometimes stipends, and indicating whether pluralists, residents, and preachers or "dumbe". Even more significant is the estimate of moral worth or worthlessness given, with definite charges in the case of a large portion of the clergy here enumerated. Such charges were, of course, partizan; but their number and definiteness leave a distinct impression that many of the Elizabethan parish ministers, quite apart from any question of ability to preach, were unworthy of their office. As Professor Firth remarks in his interesting preface:

The revolutions through which the Church passed after 1551 were not calculated to increase the learning and efficiency of the clergy. Puritans and Bishops alike aimed at raising the standard, by different methods, and each with some success, though the process was a slow one.

The reader is glad to note that the editor plans speedily to reprint the rare *Parte of a Register*, for continuation of which the papers here calendared were originally collected; and to give with that republication an elaborate introduction to the whole body of documents thus gathered by the Elizabethan Puritans.

WILLISTON WALKER.

The Making of Modern Germany. By FERDINAND SCHEVILL.
(Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company. 1916. Pp. vii, 259.
\$1.25.)

SIX lectures, delivered in Chicago in 1915, form the basis of Schevill's work, which sketches in broad outline the political and social development of Prussia-Germany from the collapse of the medieval empire and the rise of the "hard, resistant nucleus", Brandenburg, to the beginning of the Great War. The appeal to a popular audience justifies the style of presentation, which is vigorous and picturesque, and at times somewhat flamboyant. Here and there the author rises to real eloquence, as in his descriptions of the effects of the Thirty Years' War. He does not disdain colloquialisms, and now and then lapses into a solecism ("the then ruler", p. 36). The book shows evidences of too great haste in preparation in not a few loose and even incorrect statements. The following are instances: "[Prussia] by giving up the territory acquired in the three partitions of Poland" (p. 89, it retained West Prussia and received back Posen, *cf.* p. 229); "The reduction of military service from three to two years occurred shortly before 1900" (p. 130, it was in 1893). It would be very hard to show that Austria in April, 1849, "threatened with war" if Frederick William IV. should accept the imperial crown from the Frankfort Parliament (p. 118). The Socialist vote in 1912 was nearly four and one-quarter millions, not three and one-half, as stated (p. 174). Incorrect is the statement that "Germany compels school attendance only until the fourteenth year"—it is corrected, in fact, on the next page—as well as the statement regarding the loyalty of the Poles in East Prussia and Silesia (p. 230). In East Prussia the land in Polish hands increased 1900 to 1912, as a result of systematic, aggressive effort, by more than 27,000 hectares, and in Silesia in 1908 the *Wasserpölacken* captured five Reichstag districts in the uplands. The Expropriation Law of 1908 was not simply "dangled as a threat" (p. 232). It was put into practice in 1912.

Schevill's book really falls into two parts: an historical and an argumentative part. The first, down to the Bismarck era, is a sympathetic and at times brilliant sketch of the development of Prussia into a "patriarchal state" with "traditions of work and service". With considerable skill the author selects the fundamental points in the story down through Frederick's programme and the subsequent struggle with Napoleon to the catastrophic results of Berlin's "official neutrality". In

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recounting Prussia's regeneration he does not overlook, as so many historians of Prussia do, the continuance for years after 1815 of the transforming impulses which Stein set in motion, though few will agree with the assertion that after this date "the view that the state was an end in itself . . . lost all but a few hidebound supporters" (p. 92). The thesis that the authoritative and collective tendencies in Prussia are an organic development dominates the discussion and in his eagerness to develop this through the nineteenth century Schevill occasionally overlooks important points, such as the unifying effects of the enthusiasms of the Frankfort Parliament and the constitutional results of Bismarck's victory over the Prussian Liberals in 1863, so crucial for the development of the Bismarckian state.

The book was planned before the war, nevertheless the conflict determines the tone and content of the discussion of Bismarck and after. Schevill defends vigorously and ably the German constitution as a "healthy interaction" of authority and democracy, and finds that the authoritative principle has taken a more genuinely democratic course than English and American liberalism. A statement of Lord Northcliffe's that the Germans are "second-rate imitators" introduces eight pages on German contributions to science, municipal government, etc. The author's arguments, like Delbrück's, in defense of the German dualistic system give the impression of one tilting against windmills. The British middle-class Liberalism, which Schevill attacks (p. 166 ff.), has long since ceased to exist in theory or practice save as a sort of bogey-man for critics. Is the British social legislation, from the factory laws of the 'forties down to Lloyd George's sick-insurance bill, not evidence of a growing fusion of liberalism with democracy, that freedom with equality, which Schevill finds so antipodal?

Appendixes on the Polish question and Alsace-Lorraine give a fair and sympathetic statement of the German position on these matters. Still another appendix (there are eight in all) absolves Bismarck from the charge of falsifying the Ems Despatch. Over against the fine-spun arguments of Schevill and others on this point one would like to set the classic remark of the hard-headed Moltke, when Bismarck read him the "concentrated" form of Abeken's message: "So hat das einen anderen Klang. Vorher klang es wie eine Chamade [signal for negotiations], jetzt wie eine Fanfare [flourish in answer to a challenge]." (*Gedanken und Erinnerungen*, II. 91.)

Frederick the Great: the Memoirs of his Reader, Henri de Catt (1758-1760). Translated by F. S. FLINT, with an Introduction by Lord ROSEBERY. In two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1917. Pp. xl, 312; 344. \$7.50.)

AFTER Frederick the Great had separated from Voltaire through incompatibility of temper, and after he had thrown De Prades into a

fortress on a charge of espionage, it was a Genevan Swiss, Henri de Catt, whom he selected as his literary crony. Officially Catt was the king's "reader"; actually he was his listener; for Frederick liked to follow the advice which he often gave to others that the best way to clarify one's own thoughts is to express them to someone else. Catt joined the king in camp in March, 1758, and for more than a score of years thereafter it was his duty, after dinner, to listen reverentially to his patron declaiming French tragedies, to correct and criticize his mediocre verse, to place adroitly sympathy or compliment, and to tell the king what his officers were saying about him. Great men, and even men not great, often have need of such retainers. Johnson had Boswell, Goethe had Eckermann, Byron had Moore, and so forth. Catt was a devoted admirer, but his incense was not of that gross kind, burned by others, which obscures the idol and defiles the worshippers.

During the bitter years 1758-1760, in which Frederick suffered at Olmütz, Hochkirchen, Zorndorf, and Kunersdorf, and in which he was bereft of his beloved mother, brother, and sister, Catt kept a very brief Diary of all conversations and journeys with the king. Many years later he artistically amplified the Diary into *Memoirs*. Neither the Diary nor the *Memoirs* were used by Carlyle, nor by any German historians to any extent until they were published by Koser in 1884. Mr. Flint's translation of the *Memoirs*, preserving something of the savor of the original French, is excellent. Either he, or Lord Rosebery in the charming estimate of Frederick and his Boswell, might well have warned the reader of the difference between the Diary and the *Memoirs*. The former, not here translated, consists of disconnected jottings and is wholly without literary form. It is of much value, however, to the meticulous biographer of Frederick, because of its unvarnished accuracy. The *Memoirs*, on the other hand, put together in pleasing narrative form, have doubtless much greater interest for the general reader, but are not quite so trustworthy. They betray a naïve tendency on Catt's part to magnify his own importance. But the prominence which he assigns to himself is not always in harmony with his own statements in the Diary. When Frederick hears of the death of his brother, the Prince of Prussia, it is to Catt, according to the *Memoirs* (I. 187 ff.), that he at once pours out his grief; according to the Diary he was not called to see the king until four days after the sad news had come. In the *Memoirs*, Catt has also an eye for dramatic effect. For, according to the Diary, it was on August 14, 1758, that Frederick busied himself writing an improvement on Rousseau's Ode to Fortune; in the *Memoirs* (I. 286) Catt places this episode ten days later, on the 24th, so that it dramatically takes place on the eve of the battle of Zorndorf, and Catt is saying, "Yes, Sire, I doubt whether the generals whom you have to combat ever write verses on the eve of a battle."

Admitting, however, that there is a mixture of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* in the *Memoirs*, they nevertheless give a generally veracious, favor-

able, and intensely human picture of a really great man. They recount his foibles, jokes, hemorrhoids, poems, and persiflage. Often the weary head of the state would exclaim to Catt, "What a dog's life I have to lead!". He even had thoughts of resigning the crown to his brother, in order that he might retire to the literary delights of Sans Souci. Catt gives many amusing anecdotes illustrating Frederick's fondness for practical jokes on other people; but there are also plenty of stories evidencing the king's essential generosity and genuine solicitude for the welfare of others. Frederick frequently adverted to his miserable youth and his hard study for the tasks of life, but he seems to have had a more kindly appreciation of his father's severe character than one would gather from the pages of Carlyle or Macaulay.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

Modern Russian History: being an Authoritative and Detailed History of Russia from the Age of Catherine the Great to the Present. By ALEXANDER KORNILOV, Professor at the Polytechnicum of Peter the Great in Petrograd. In two volumes. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1917. Pp. 310, 370. \$5.00.)

It is really a pity. Here is an excellent book on a subject about which there is little good literature in English, and it is made almost unreadable for us by the incompetence of the translator. He is evidently a foreigner with a large theoretical knowledge of English, but he has no real sense of a clear idiomatic use of the language. The order of his clauses is apt to be clumsy, there are countless inversions, articles are inserted where they do not belong, and omitted where they do (in Russian there are no articles), there are many mistakes in the use of prepositions, and words of all kinds are used with not quite their right meaning and sometimes with totally wrong ones and sometimes with no warrant for their existence. The reader is thus kept in a continual state of irritation while he is trying to find out what a sentence means or should mean, or is jarred by some extraordinary expression. To quote a few examples, we find such terms as "ideational", "hydraulicians", "draining wars", "civilism", "cadet corpuses", "motivated", "the anachronic despoty". Paper money is called "assignments", and we are told about their "course". Instead of he "disapproved of", we have he "regarded negatively". The Academicians, such as Storch, are dubbed "academic Storch", etc.

The following if not perhaps fair are characteristic passages:

Not satisfied with the custom repressions Paul ordered arrested all English goods in the stores (I. 61).

To the next period we must assign the following four decades of the nineteenth century, when the results of the abolition of serfdom had developed the further process of the substitution by a constitutional of the autocratic state (I. 65).

As a comment on Alexander I. we find:

In a fatal way he had destroyed for himself the possibility of a consequential and regulated leadership of Russia on the way of progress and fundamental improvement of her state, destroyed it by being carried away with the chance for participation in the world-events of his time (I. 217).

Chapter XXVII. begins with the sentence: "The attentate of Karakozov, on April 4, 1866, produced a shocking impression upon Alexander and upon the public" (II. III).

Coming at last to the subject of Professor Kornilov's two volumes, the first criticism one has to make is that the title is misleading. It promises a general history of Russia, but the work is almost confined to Russian institutions and political development in the last century and a half. Foreign relations and wars and expansion of territory are touched upon only in a casual and rather slipshod manner, and there are several errors in statement. Economic development comes out a little better, but not much, and there is nothing about such things as the progress of science, literature, or art. On its real topic the book is valuable. It has been written with evident care and competence, with outspoken liberal conviction, but soberly and without rhetoric. The facts it gives are of consequence in themselves, but it covers too much ground to go deeply into any of them. Being composed for Russians, it presupposes a certain knowledge of Russian history on the part of its readers. It also has a great many proper names, which makes it confusing, especially to a public not already familiar with most of them, and to whom they seem uncouth. In short, Professor Kornilov's work is a scholarly, judicious compendium of an important subject, but it is not likely to prove attractive to many American readers.

The transliteration of Russian words is in the main good, though there are some inconsistencies and a few mistakes, especially in names that were originally foreign, not Russian. *Ts* is better than *tz* (for instance, *tsar*, not *tzar*), and there is no sense in the form "Nicolas", which is not the English and still less the Russian way of writing the name.

ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE.

The French Revolution and Napoleon. By CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN, Professor of History in Columbia University. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1917. Pp. iv, 385. \$2.50.)

THIS volume is a reprint of a portion of Professor Hazen's school-text on *Modern European History*, minus the illustrations and bibliographies. The book is a war-product. It was the belief that, "To an age like our own, caught in the grip of a world war . . . there is much instruction to be gained from the study of a similar crisis in the destinies of humanity a century ago", that between the period of the French Revolution and Napoleon and our own there are "not only points of interesting and suggestive comparison, but there is also a line

of distinct causation connecting the two". It was this belief that led to the publication as a separate volume of the portions of the *Modern European History* devoted to the French Revolution and Napoleon. The result has been a book outwardly attractive and charmingly written; it will probably be a popular text-book and, compared with other volumes of the same size, it will deserve to be popular. Tested by the ideal standard of what such a volume might be, it is more open to criticism. Correctness in the statement of fact and fundamental unity in the synthesis of facts should be the aim of every popular work and success in realizing these two aims should be the final test of the historical value of the book. In the volume under examination, there is a third criterion to be considered, namely the success with which the "instruction" of that period for the present is made clear.

As to the incorrect statements of facts, while there are fewer than in the majority of school-texts dealing with this same period, there are still more than necessary, more than should be allowed to stand in a revised edition of the work. Notwithstanding all that has been written upon the French Revolution the main facts have not yet been critically established; but few trustworthy monographs exist. It would be extremely difficult, even for the specialist on the period, to present the whole subject in a condensed synthesis and make no blunders in matters of fact. There are some trustworthy monographs and every writer on the Revolution should be familiar with them; facts should not be drawn, without critical examination, from general histories of the Revolution. Lack of space makes it impossible to do more than illustrate my point. A trustworthy account of the night of August 4, 1789, has been written by Aulard; Professor Hazen's account is evidently taken from Madelin's *The French Revolution*, and is full of inaccuracies. The insurrections of July and October, 1789, of June 20 and August 10, 1792, the massacres of September, 1792, the Worship of Reason of 1793 have all received monographic treatment and a knowledge of these monographs would have improved Professor Hazen's text. At times, the *élan* with which the narrative was written triumphed over historical accuracy. The statement (p. 185), for example, that "Louis was given a trial, a trial, however, before a packed jury, which had already shown its hatred of him", is not history but rhetoric. The same is true of the statement (p. 178) touching the September massacres.

The synthesis of the Revolution begins in a most promising manner with a treatment of the *ancien régime*, the beginnings of the Revolution, and the making of the constitution, and then reverts to the usual topics of the Legislative Assembly, the Convention, and Directory. The excellent chapter on the Making of the Constitution is, to my mind, an example of what the whole book should have been. The chapter devoted to the Convention is the least satisfactory of all, perhaps necessarily so. But it should have been made clear that from 1792 on and especially in the great year 1793 everything was conditioned by war and war should have been thrown into the foreground; it is the only method of treat-

ment that gives significance to the facts of the internal history. A good synthesis of the Napoleonic Period is less difficult to realize than one of the Revolution and here it is well done.

The connection between these periods and the present war is not made especially clear; it is treated very incidentally. Perhaps it could not be made clear in a work that ends with the Congress of Vienna; it might have been shown in two chapters on the great world development that has led to a world war to solve, if possible, the problem of how this world society, the result of six thousand years of history, shall be finally organized. A successful synthesis of the Revolution and the Napoleonic Period and an understanding of their relation to the present war are possible only under the conditions created by a clear insight into the character of the development of the world's history.

FRED MORROW FLING.

The French Colonial Question, 1789-1791: Dealings of the Constituent Assembly with Problems arising from the Revolution in the West Indies. By MITCHELL BENNETT GARRETT, Ph.D., Acting Professor of History in Saint Lawrence University. (Ann Arbor: George Wahr. 1916. Pp. iv, 167. \$1.25.)

PROFESSOR GARRETT here presents a study of a question which, as Boissonnade has remarked, gave rise to one of the "most serious crises in the history of civilization". When one reflects upon the fact that the "colonial question" brought to the halls of the revolutionary assemblies, for discussion and settlement, social problems of such great import, both to the colonies and to humanitarian philosophers, as the institution of slavery and the slave-trade, economic problems of such far-reaching consequences, to planters and merchants, to colonies and metropole, to the integrity of the empire and the welfare of the larger trading-world, as the reform of the *pacte colonial*, political problems of such vital interest to visionary reformers and to practical defenders of colonial interests, as colonial self-government and imperial control with all the intricate and perplexing minor problems related thereto, it is hard to regard Boissonnade's remark as an exaggeration. The importance of the question has not failed to attract scholars and to inspire some excellent work. Boissonnade, Castonnet des Fosses, Léon Deschamps, de Vaissière, H. E. Mills, Stoddart, Miss E. D. Bradby, and, since the publication of the present study, Miss Ellery, have all published works of value which have dealt with some vital phases of the question. All of these writers with the exception of Deschamps, of whom more will be said presently, have approached its study either with the purpose of delineating more sharply the rôle played by some character in the Constituent Assembly or else through a primary interest in the colonies as such, and have not examined with "painstaking care the records of the Constituent Assembly to discover the efforts of the national deputies at Paris to understand and redress the colonial griev-

ances". Professor Garrett has attempted to do what they have failed to do and thus to present a clear and accurate account of the colonial question before the Constituent Assembly. On the whole he has succeeded in the undertaking and has made a distinct contribution of importance to our literature on the subject.

The story is not an easy one to tell. Many factors and forces, strong and important, but ever shifting and changing, must be traced by patience and skill through perplexing and complicated situations so that the reader may follow the narrative with understanding. Illustrations of this abound. The planter-interests, for instance, were both in favor of and opposed to the revolutionary movement. They were in favor of it in so far as they were inspired by the hope that it would break the hated tyranny of monopolistic control over colonial commerce. As supporters of the revolution they found themselves allies of the mulattoes and *petits blancs*, who from far different motives welcomed the dawn of a new day; as such too they found themselves enemies of the merchant class, who dreaded a change and wished still to fatten upon the old theories of Colbertism. But when these same planters heard resounding in the excited French capital the wild notes of equality and fraternity and realized that such notes, once resounding upon the rich plains of St. Domingo, would produce lurid scenes of devastation and destruction, they became opponents of the movement. They then found themselves allies of the merchant class and uncompromising enemies of the mulattoes and the *petits blancs*, at least until slave insurrections forced them all into united action. From this complication of interests among those concerned personally with the colonies, one may turn to find a similar complication in the attitude of the members of the Constituent Assembly, where the cause of principles struggled against the restraints of wise statesmanship ("Périssent les colonies plutôt qu'un principe"), a struggle which, as our author points out, led to a wavering policy in the colonial legislation of the assembly, which had serious consequences. The play and interplay of such forces as these and of others like the *Amis des Noirs*, the delegates of the colonies, the exiled assembly of Saint Marc, the Jacobin Club, the ever changing conditions in the storm-centres of the West Indies, the feverish, shifting sentiments of the Constituent Assembly, might have led very easily to bewildering confusion. The author's skill, however, has saved the reader from such a misfortune. It is quite remarkable, indeed, how in the compass of his small volume Professor Garrett has succeeded in setting before the reader a complicated story in such clear, concise form and yet with enough detail to give substance to the narrative.

The work is based almost entirely upon original material and has all the freshness and vigor of such work. The study however has some very decided limitations. It has failed to include a treatment of *la réforme commerciale* which led to some legislation in the Constituent Assembly of great importance to the colonies and treated very properly

by Deschamps as an essential part of the "colonial question". It displays decided limitations in the treatment of events in the colonies, such as the revolt of the mulattoes in St. Domingo under Ogé, which though small and unsuccessful certainly had an important influence. Likewise the treatment of the assembly of Saint Marc (ch. III.) shows some rather careless workmanship. A comparison of the summary (p. 61) of the "Constitutional Bases" issued by that assembly with the text of them published by Castonnet des Fosses (*La Perte d'une Colonie*, p. 57) will reveal not only some awkward translation but even inaccurate and misleading statements of fact. Also, I am very curious to know the authority for the statement that the word *acceptation* as used in the "Bases" "precluded the possibility of a refusal" of them by the king and the National Assembly. The principles of the "Bases" do not appear quite so extremely radical and arrogant as the author represents them, as will be evident from a comparison of them with the "instructions" of March 28 (p. 54) and with the principles finally adopted by the Constituent Assembly (p. 132). In spite of its crudeness and limitations the Assembly of Saint Marc proposed an extremely interesting solution of the colonial problem, comparable in statesmanship to those offered by the Stamp Act Congress and the Congress of 1774 in our own revolutionary movement.

It is rather surprising to find Professor Garrett treating the work of Deschamps in such a summary fashion as he does in his bibliography. He there dismisses it with the remark that it is "full of typographical errors, inaccurate statistics and misstatements of fact". Now Deschamps (*Les Colonies pendant la Révolution: la Constituante et la Réforme Coloniale*) covers the identical ground covered by Professor Garrett, although in less detail, because he has treated the "colonial question" in a more comprehensive way. His work has enjoyed a good reputation. It would seem therefore to be incumbent upon the author to have indicated in his foot-notes at least some important facts to justify his comment upon such a comparatively recent writer in the same field. He has cited Deschamps only four times and in each case as an authority. However inaccurate in details it might prove under critical analysis, yet there is a breadth of view in Deschamps's book which makes it valuable and delightful.

STEWART L. MIMS.

Lord Stowell: his Life and the Development of English Prize Law.

By E. S. ROSCOE, Registrar of the Prize Court of Great Britain and Ireland. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1916. Pp. 116. \$1.50.)

STOWELL's biographies are out of print, men remember him as Eldon's brother, prize law is of but sporadic importance, and admiralty is a neglected mystery to lawyers and laymen who dwell away from deep water.

To the Registrar of the Admiralty, custodian of the court's traditions, and versed in its peculiar learning, such ignorance of the greatest name in its annals is distasteful, and now that the carriage of goods by sea is as dangerous as in the day of Stowell (and Napoleon), Mr. Roscoe has written an "impression" of William Scott "as a man", and a proof that his "individual, important and permanent" labors answer modern requirements.

It is high distinction that any man's intellectual work endures for a century, yet in our day of steam, electricity, and international credits, Stowell's law, formulated for sailing ships that disappeared from knowledge on every voyage, has proven wholly applicable. His successors have done little more than indicate the legal identity of phenomena a century apart and differing in every external. Thus bottomry and respondentia have disappeared, but Stowell's treatment of these liens upon captures has disposed of claims based on hypothecated bills of lading securing bankers' drafts.

Such logical victories appeal especially to the bar, and the book is primarily for lawyers. But no other volume has clearly shown the reasons for Stowell's unique influence in prize. He was no mere practitioner, office bred and sharpened by immature advocacy; but a ripe scholar, a teacher of history, a sound common lawyer, a thorough civilian, an astute politician, and something of a courtier. Many judges had presided over the English Admiralty, but he was the first to set forth the grounds of judgment in ordered sequence, and to make his "sentences" a body of "case law"—the method of legal formulation still most acceptable; he was perhaps the first able to do this, as he certainly was the first with business enough to give scope to ability.

The author admits that the *corpus juris* reasoned out by Stowell inclined against the neutral and favored belligerents. Bitterly did contemporary America complain of this; but there is scarcely an anti-neutral decision that has not been drastically applied in our courts. The book might have illustrated this more fully, for it is high tribute to the Englishman's mental power that when Americans warred they adopted the rules once so cordially abused.

A judge writes to be quoted, and Stowell's quotability might have received ampler treatment. Phrases such as the "cobweb title" that does not divest jurisdiction in possession, and the resounding sentence that a mariner's wage lien is "sacred as long as a plank" remains of his vessel, have kept Stowell in the mouths of counsel.

Mr. Roscoe easily shows the judge's importance and modernity; "as a man", there was temptation to special pleading. Yet the book fairly pictures the worldly man, "pleasant" to Sir Walter Scott, Dr. Johnson's companion and executor—but no man's hearty friend. An intelligent selfishness, not unmixed with parsimony, forbade any commitment not easily broken without open reproach.

The volume pretends to nothing new, except to fit Stowell into our

century; that point is fully proved; for the rest it is an attractive summary of the enduring work of a well-bred, selfish, highly educated, and slightly miserly gentleman.

CHARLES M. HOUGH.

Three Peace Congresses of the Nineteenth Century. By CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN, WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER, ROBERT HOWARD LORD. *Claimants to Constantinople.* By ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1917. Pp. v, 93. \$.75.)

FOUR of the most timely papers read at the Cincinnati meeting of the American Historical Association have here been collected and delightfully published, with a prefatory note by Professor H. E. Bourne, under the imprint of the Harvard University Press. The papers, because of their pertinency to the present war and its issue and also because of the well-recognized competency of their authors, should now be read with pleasure and profit by a wide circle.

Messrs. Hazen, Thayer, and Lord, in dealing respectively with the Congresses of Vienna, Paris, and Berlin, have not bored us with repetitious discussion of the detailed problems that came before the assembled diplomatists or of the merits of the solutions reached. Rather, they have all conformed admirably to the dictum laid down by Mr. Hazen that he would content himself with describing "the manner in which the Congress approached its problems, the way in which it handled its business, its mode of organization, its methods of work, the machinery it employed in the discharge of its highly complicated task". To many it will seem a pity that the authors have not broadened the scope of their papers sufficiently to admit of some indication of the hopes and aspirations voiced in the press and popularly entertained immediately before, and during, the several congresses. Such hopes and aspirations—even prior semi-official pronouncements of the governments concerned—have so often been at variance with the treaty achievements, that a frank recognition of this fact might go far to restrain undue optimism about the millennium's being ushered in by the congress which will terminate the present war. With the exception of Mr. Lord's passing reference to the petitions of representatives of the Alliance Israélite and of the Peace Society to the Congress of Berlin, the congresses are considered as jousting matches for brightly caparisoned (though not over-chivalrous) noble diplomatists, never as dickerings of cabals unrepresentative of their fellow nationals in social position, in manners, in purpose, and in "interests". Perhaps the authors have done wisely to exclude consideration of contemporaneous public opinion of the congresses, for otherwise their studies would have been expanded to much larger dimensions, would have lacked unity, and would have engulfed the "gentle reader" in a most desperately abysmal slough of pessimism.

As it is, the effect of the hour's perusal of the three papers is to

produce a feeling bordering on despair. The most striking lesson to be drawn from the Congress of Vienna is that a power, overwhelmingly defeated on the battlefield and actually occupied in large part by the victorious troops of a grand alliance, may, if it has a diplomatist of the calibre and shrewdness of Talleyrand, set its conquerors at variance one with another and in the name of "legitimacy" or of some other mouth-filling fiction preserve its territorial integrity and continue to play a rôle as a great power. The Congress of Vienna was not even a congress, yet it accomplished much more of permanent value than did the Congress of Paris. In the latter there is only a comedy of errors played by a humorous green-table troupe—the pompous, ponderous, Palmerstonian Clarendon; Walewski, the much-talking and little-thinking agent of Napoleon III.; the "arrogant, mannerless, and haughty" Count Buol; the bluff, jovial, "old-soldierly" Count Orloff; and the Turkish grand vizier, "the only self-made man"—as much like Gilbert-and-Sullivan in their procedure as they were like Hamlet in their crazy and tragical achievements. It is not surprising that historical interest has centred less in this burlesque than in the two side-shows which accompanied it—the Declaration of Paris on maritime law in time of war, and the quiet but effective intrigues of Count Cavour.

Both at Paris and at Vienna the visiting diplomatists were constantly distracted from business by banquets, receptions, and balls; at Berlin, they had only to retire to Bismarck's buffet and to sample his "jug of port", and they were forthwith refreshed and invigorated for the tasks before them. Yet in sheer futility the Congress of Berlin outrivalled its predecessors. Mr. Lord, after endorsing the statement that "the treaty of San Stefano was the wisest measure ever prepared for the pacification of the Balkan Peninsula", affirms that had the powers other than Russia

been actuated only by disinterestedness, moderation, and foresight, they would then have assembled in congress resolved, at the least, to confirm the essential arrangements of San Stefano, to stipulate analogous arrangements for the western half of the peninsula, and to provide for the collective guardianship of Europe over the organization and free development of the liberated nations.

That they did nothing of the sort was due to their indifference to the principle of nationality, to their unfounded jealousy of Russia, and to the fact that they consulted only their own selfish interests; their selfishness was to bear fruit in wars of the twentieth century.

In a word [concludes Mr. Lord] the great fault of the Congress of Berlin, as of so many congresses in the past, was the failure to recognize that the peace of Europe is not ensured nor the interests of any Power permanently served by creating unnatural, unjust, and intolerable conditions; the failure to recognize that even in international politics justice is, in the long run, the surest foundation of states and nations.

All the papers are interesting and suggestive. Mr. Thayer's alone is rather shabbily dressed so far as literary form is concerned and not exactly punctilious in its impartiality; the author of *Germany versus Civilization*, in characterizing Prussian diplomatists, even the aristocratic Manteuffel, must needs lay aside his sense of humor and his mellow historical-mindedness in favor of a somewhat unseemly vindictiveness. Brennus could hardly be a prototype of modern Prussian diplomacy, as Mr. Thayer maintains, for Brennus was a Celt!

Mr. Coolidge's article on "Claimants to Constantinople" is a clear, well-balanced, and fair-minded, though appropriately brief, account of the most difficult question in the international relations of modern times. It deals mainly with the political aspects of the problem, and only incidentally with the economic. Mr. Coolidge brings out best "the clash between the interests and we may say the legitimate ambitions of Russia and Germany". So baffling to us does he make the clash that he can have a good laugh at us by suggesting "that the Russians shall have Constantinople and the Straits, and the German railway shall go under them somewhere by a tunnel". But what will be the effect of the revolution at Petrograd upon Russian claims to Constantinople?

CARLTON J. H. HAYES.

Herbert Spencer. By HUGH ELLIOT. [Makers of the Nineteenth Century, edited by Basil Williams.] (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1917. Pp. vi, 330. \$2.00.)

THE editor of the series in which this volume belongs is safe in his observation that (p. v), "Whatever may be thought to-day of the value of Spencer's writings, no one who wishes to understand the thought of the nineteenth century can neglect him." There will be more dissent from the editor's further opinion (p. vi), "As far as one can see, whether as a philosopher or as a man of science, Spencer is not likely to live for future generations."

Not all the men and women who, in the seventies of the nineteenth century, were beginning to take philosophical problems seriously, and who were fascinated by Spencer, have thought beyond their preceptor. A faithful few remain whom Mr. Williams's objectivity will affect as impiety. What will these few say to the brutal frankness of the biographer himself? He tells us that he accomplished his first reading of the *Synthetic Philosophy* while he was in active service on the South African veldt. His appraisal of that work at the time may be inferred from the further detail: "Not infrequently I had little other baggage than a toothbrush and a volume of *The Principles of Psychology*" (p. 5). Fifteen years later, after a second reading of Mr. Spencer's works, together with a collateral study and consultations with many of the author's most intimate friends, Mr. Elliot had reached the conclusions which his book elaborates:

His life was *par excellence* in his writings; and a true biography of Spencer must consist chiefly of an account of his works. He was one of those authors of whom it may be most truly said that his works were much greater than himself; and all the best of him will be found in his philosophy. His personality, outside his works, was meagre and petty.

We must certainly discard the whole dogmatism and formulism of Spencer's social philosophy: we cannot force the conclusions of sociology into a few narrow and rigid laws, as Spencer endeavoured to do (pp. 8-9).

Whether one is of the minority or of the majority in estimating the present worth of Spencer's writings, one can scarcely imagine students, for a long time to come, with sufficient detachment from the more urgent problems of the day to dedicate themselves, as men did while the publication was in process, to eager line-upon-line study of everything which Spencer wrote. With the utmost respect for Spencer's services as a path-breaker for positivism, all but the few for whom we have made allowance realize that his chief significance at present is as a factor in the evolution of thought, not as an authority for present thinking. In other words, even those of us who have profited most by following Spencer through his solution of his problems, must be painfully aware that for men now in their formative years Spencer is largely archaeology. That being the case, a sympathetic introduction, with indication of the main positions in the system, and with a plot of the traps that guard those positions, is the most serviceable addition that could be made to Spencerian literature. Mr. Elliot has admirably satisfied these requirements.

For example, after a succinct statement of the general character of Spencer's philosophy the biographer is equally lucid in showing that it was wholly "worked out by the deductive method . . . the outstanding fact remains that the two great doctrines of his *Sociology* and *Ethics* are just the two doctrines which he imbibed with the greatest avidity in his early years as a political agitator" (pp. 84-85). Equally wise is the indication of prematurity in Spencer's insistent division of societies into "militant" and "industrial" (p. 95 ff., cf. p. 162). Again, the author is at his best when elaborating such propositions as: "Spencer's sociology was unfortunately under the immediate and powerful bias of his *Ethics*. . . . But Spencer had no historical sense" (p. 101); "We cannot admit that the dogmas of the fifties are the last word in the science of sociology or in the art of ethics. . . . Liberty should not be a dogma, but should constitute the atmosphere of social and political thought."

Mr. Elliot successfully locates the fatal flaw in the Spencerian method of explaining social evolution. He indicates it by varying the proposition: "Spencer's perennial search for a logical origin blinds him to the truth that the origin is psychological" (p. 168). He applies the same test to the Spencerian ethics: "Man is primarily a being of emotions and feelings; and in that region we must seek explanations of his behaviour" (p. 185).

In the chapter *Metaphysics and Religion* the biographer neatly hits off the humor of Spencer's attempt in *First Principles*, to deal with problems so far beyond his competence that he chiefly makes the impression of having imperfectly learned what Sir William Hamilton had so convincingly taught. "If 'the Unknowable' is really unknowable, there is surely nothing more to be said about it; and the ascription of various attributes to the Unknowable is in reality a sufficient condemnation of the whole doctrine" (p. 217).

After all the drawbacks are charged off, it still remains true that men who are able to be more critical than credulous may add cubits to their mental stature by studying the *Synthetic Philosophy*. If one is wavering about the value of such study, Mr. Elliot's book would almost surely remove the doubts, and it might most profitably be used as the brief for the respondent.

ALBION W. SMALL.

Portraits of the Seventies. By the Right Hon. GEORGE W. E. RUSSELL. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1916. Pp. 485. \$3.75.)

OBVIOUSLY from what Mr. Russell tells us in a frankly written preface to *Portraits of the Seventies*, publishers in London regard his intimate knowledge of English politics of the last forty years and of English society of the same period as a valuable asset. There are readers of his books and of his contributions to the periodical press, especially readers who recall his contributions to the *Manchester Guardian*, who also appraise quite highly his peculiar and intimate knowledge of English politics, and his ability to write on English politics, which comes partly from the fullness of his knowledge. There is no man in England to-day—no man who has made any position for himself as a writer—who is better acquainted than Mr. Russell with the history of the Whig party from the Reform Act of 1832 to the eclipse of Whiggism that resulted from the extension of the parliamentary franchise in 1884-1885, and the epoch-making division in the Liberal party over Gladstone's bill for Home Rule for Ireland of 1886. Mr. Russell was born into the Whig cult. He was on terms of intimacy with most of the prominent men of the Whig party from 1867 to 1886, and while all through his political career he has been a convinced believer in democracy, he is steeped in the history and traditions of Whiggism. It seems never to have occurred to any London publisher to attempt to draw on this particular vein of Mr. Russell's store of political information. It may be that there is to-day little popular interest in the achievements of the Whig party; for since 1886 a new generation has come on to the electoral rolls in England to which Whiggism is not even a name or a tradition.

Mr. Fisher Unwin's request to Mr. Russell—as he tells us in his unconventional preface—was for a book about people eminent in the

seventies and eighties, as a sequel to Justin McCarthy's *Portraits of the Sixties*; and *Portraits of the Seventies* is the result. It scarcely need be said that the book is extremely readable. Readableness has always been a characteristic of Mr. Russell's writings. But in a volume of not more than 120,000 words, he draws no fewer than fifty-five portraits. They are of women as well as of men; for while the larger part of Mr. Russell's book is devoted to men who later were his contemporaries in Parliament when he was of the House of Commons from 1880 to 1895, he writes also of bishops and clergymen of the Established Church, of dignitaries and priests of the Roman Catholic Church in England, of poets and physicians, of the wives of statesmen, and of other women who in the seventies and eighties were famous as hostesses. Almost necessarily in a comparatively small book carrying so many portraits, there is in some of the shorter sketches a flavor of what in the jargon of Fleet Street would be described as "mainly about people" stuff. But as has been indicated it is the statesmen and politicians of the seventies and eighties who receive most detailed attention at Mr. Russell's hands. He is generous in the proportion of his book allotted to these men; and from the point of view of a contribution to the literature of English politics in the nineteenth century *Portraits of the Seventies* will always have a value for the side-lights thrown on Beaconsfield, Gladstone, Sherbrooke, Salisbury, Devonshire, Argyll, Bright, Chamberlain, Churchill, and Parnell. There are fifty-two reproductions of photographs or portraits, but there is no index.

E. P.

The Rise of Rail-Power in War and Conquest, 1833-1914. By EDWIN A. PRATT. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1916. Pp. xii, 405. \$2.50.)

THE latest of Pratt's works on the character and development of railway transportation, in presenting an historical survey of the scientific utilization of the modern railway for purposes of war and conquest, is a very timely book. The tremendous task of all of the European belligerents in concentrating unparalleled numbers of troops, in providing vast armies with supplies and munitions of well-nigh limitless quantity, in maintaining lines of communication of unprecedented length and difficulty, in removing from the zones of war hundreds of thousands of prisoners and as many wounded men of varying degrees of disability, in protecting their systems of transport against the newer weapons of this war, particularly against the aggressive manoeuvres of alert air fleets, and more especially, the marvellous flexibility of the German war machine in maintaining an active resistance and a vigorous offensive on a multiple of fronts, have emphasized as never before the fact that railway transportation plays as indispensable a rôle in the successful prosecution of modern warfare as it does in the peaceful development of modern industrial society. But while *The Rise of Rail-Power in*

War and Conquest is timely, it differs from most of the war books of the past three years in at least two important respects: first, it consists very largely in a presentation of facts, and not merely in a formulation of opinions; and secondly, it makes no attempt to carry the investigation beyond the outbreak of the World War in 1914. The purpose of the work is to describe in detail the policies and practices in the utilization of rail-power for military purposes that had been developed up to that time, to indicate the nature and possibilities of this factor in warfare as it was "imposed upon mankind in 1914, to undergo a development and an application on a wider, more impressive, and more terrible scale than the world had ever seen before".

The title of Mr. Pratt's book is fairly indicative of its scope and character. Its viewpoint is uniformly historical. It emphasizes the *rise* of the various aspects of rail-power, the continuous historic evolution of railway transportation for a period of eighty years (1833-1914), in all the leading countries of the world and under the stress of all the important military combats of modern times, as an instrument of warfare. The earliest proposals for utilizing the railways for military purposes were made in Germany in 1833, but

the American Civil War was practically the beginning of things as regards the scientific use of railways for war, and . . . many of the problems connected therewith were either started in the United States or were actually worked out there, precedents being established and examples being set which the rest of the world had simply to follow, adapt or perfect.

Accordingly, considerable space is devoted to a discussion of the use of railways in the Civil War. Moreover, in dealing with such special problems as the establishment of a distinct military organization for railway destruction and restoration, the adjustment of railway control between the military and technical (railway) elements, the development of special devices for the protection of railways, the utilization of armored trains and railway ambulance transport, attention is repeatedly directed to the fact that the initial steps in all these matters, and substantial progress in some of them, must be traced to our Civil War. The development of rail-power is further exemplified by a detailed account of the use of railroads in the Franco-Prussian War, the Boer War, and the Russo-Japanese War, and special treatment is accorded to the employment of "military railways" in various campaigns, and to the nature of the German strategical railways.

As illustrations of the European policy of preparedness for war in time of peace, applied to the problem of rail-power, there is presented a detailed description of the development and present character of the organization of the transportation systems of Germany, France, and England, for military purposes. It is interesting to note that Germany's campaign for the organization of rail-power dates from the early thirties, but received especial impetus from the experience of our Civil War

and the War of 1870-1871, at which time "the alleged perfection of Germany's arrangements . . . is merely one of the fictions of history"; that the effective application of French effort in this direction followed the disastrous results of the Franco-Prussian War; and that the beginning of England's preparation "was the direct outcome of the conditions of semi-panic" developed there in 1859 by the prospect of an early French invasion.

Two chapters deal with the building and control of so-called "economic-political-strategical" railways, as a means of conquest, without the necessary accompaniment of war. The first describes the development of German strategical railways in Southwest Africa, directly as a means of dominating British South Africa, and ultimately for the purpose of transforming the whole of Africa into a German-African Empire, "possibly more valuable and more brilliant than even the Indian Empire". The second of these chapters describes the German designs on Asiatic Turkey, through the instrumentality of the Bagdad Railway, "designed to ensure the establishment of a German Middle-Asian Empire, bringing under German control the entire region from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf, and providing convenient stepping-off places from which an advance might be made on Egypt in the one direction and India in the other". These two chapters are among the most interesting in the book, but they deal too largely with political rather than military matters. They involve primarily questions of German aspiration in the field of *Weltpolitik*. National motives and national ambitions are analyzed and appraised. While the author's conclusions are based on authentic data and are not in disagreement with dominant opinion at the present time, all of the pertinent evidence will not become available until the veil is lifted at the end of the World War. This task must be left for the future historian.

The subject-matter of the book, in so far as it is limited to the rise of rail-power for direct military purposes, may logically be treated from three distinct aspects: the military functions of rail-power; the organization essential for effective performance of these functions; and the historical development of both the functions and organization of rail-power at various times and places since this "new factor" in warfare was recognized. From such an analysis, it is believed, would emerge a more distinct picture of the nature and significance of the railroad as an element in modern warfare than can be gathered from the author's uniform and largely exclusive adoption of the historical method. And if it be urged that the author's task was primarily an historical one, answer may still be made that a preliminary and distinct analysis of the problems of function and organization would make more vital and intelligible the exposition of historical development. The present treatment is unduly discursive, and in parts fragmentary. While the general presentation is comprehensive and accurate, the material is insufficiently digested and co-ordinated. As a result, the reader's im-

pressions are somewhat blurred; and the book serves more adequately as a storehouse of specialized facts in military history than as a finished study of the significance of these facts. In gathering this material, however, and in subjecting it to partial analysis, Mr. Pratt has rendered a valuable service. He has brought together, from a large number and variety of sources, primary and secondary, a mass of material that throws light upon the past military history of the leading nations, and which will serve as a substantial starting-point for the future study of a very important aspect of the present world struggle. This book constitutes the most comprehensive general treatment yet available of the rise of rail-power as an instrument of warfare.

I. LEO SHARFMAN.

General Botha: the Career and the Man. By HAROLD SPENDER.
(Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1916.
Pp. 348. \$2.50.)

THIS is a biography begotten of the war. Useful because the first narrative of Botha's career and because written by one who has known Botha and his friends for a long time, it is nevertheless not a significant addition to the literature of South African history. Mr. Spender has set out to make familiar to the public a man whose services to the British Empire deserve fullest appreciation. He has handled a considerable body of sources, and he has evidently been given opportunities to consult with those public men who have had to do with South Africa, opportunities that should give his work authority. Yet there are indications of hurry and carelessness which impair the value of the book. That part of the biography which I have been able to test by the sources, the part dealing with the South African War and the events immediately following, contains slight inaccuracies and misstatements, most of them the result less of a want of knowledge than of pains. The worst slip is the confusion of the battle of Diamond Hill with that of Berg-en-dal.

The author is too sketchy. Never economical of words, he wants space, nevertheless, to tell us what we would like to know most. Botha's schemes of attack, his gift of holding Boer soldiers, each inclined to go his own way, to one purpose, and of organizing stubborn retreats—such matters he fails to bring into clear relief. The story of Spion Kop is so told that we miss essential and characteristic features. Botha's most signal victories he owed as much to the stupidity of his adversaries as to his own strategy, a fact Mr. Spender blinks. He also fails to recognize Botha's mistakes and indiscretions. The reader might suppose that Botha's military conclusions had never been at fault; he is told nothing of Botha's errors in judgment on his European mission after the war.

The latter part of the work seems to be much better. Certainly the narrative of events from 1906 to 1914 embodies much not so easily found

elsewhere. The author has used parliamentary reports, South African newspapers, memoirs, and private information to good effect. The story of Botha's work as premier of the Transvaal, of his part in shaping the Union, of his policies as premier of South Africa, of his handling of the Hertzog split and of the labor crisis, of his quick suppression of the rebellion of 1914, and of his swift invasion of German Southwest Africa is well told. The twistings and involutions of South African politics are straightened out in workmanlike fashion. It becomes easier to account for the Boer support of Britain in 1914. That support was the outcome of the policy of a man of great natural shrewdness and remarkable capacity for growth, who not only mastered in a few years the ins and outs of the English party system and the duties of party leadership, but also caught the conception of British imperialism. It may be that the author gives Botha more than his due, and it is probable that he has interpreted South African politics from the standpoint of a watcher at Westminster. He has drawn a great man, whose policy in the last two years is the finest tribute to imperialism—of the Liberal kind.

WALLACE NOTESTEIN.

Les Origines du Pangermanisme (1800 à 1888). Avec une Préface par CHARLES ANDLER, Professeur à l'Université de Paris. [Collection de Documents sur le Pangermanisme traduits de l'Allemand publiés sous la Direction de M. Charles Andler.] (Paris: Louis Conard. 1915. Pp. lviii, 335.)

Le Pangermanisme Continental sous Guillaume II. (de 1888 à 1914). By the same. (*Ibid.* 1915. Pp. lxxxiii, 480.)

Le Pangermanisme Colonial sous Guillaume II. (de 1888 à 1914). By the same. (*Ibid.* 1916. Pp. c, 335.)

Le Pangermanisme Philosophique (1800 à 1914). By the same (*Ibid.* 1917. Pp. clii, 398.) (25 frs. for the four vols.)

ONE of the immediate results of the war is the realization that the history of Austro-German statecraft and diplomacy since 1870 must be rewritten in the light of the war of 1914 and of Pan-Germanism. German history written for us by Germans—and it has dominated by mere weight of erudition the studies of foreign students—has been a defense, a justification, a background for the war of 1914 itself which would convince the German people and, if possible, other nations as well, of the justifiability and necessity of the war when it should be fought. It was however a history in which real aims and policies could not appear; it must create the essential foundations for a structure whose existence must be unsuspected until "the day" dawned. While it would be idle to deny that there is much truth in the history of Germany as German scholars have written it, and absurd to suppose that the overwhelming

majority had direct relations with the Wilhelmstrasse, the truth of history as they have written it is at best partial truth; many omissions must be supplied and a change of emphasis is in most cases essential. The whole of German history must be scrutinized in the light of Pan-Germanism.

The reconstruction is a task difficult in the extreme. So much was prepared for our perusal that we do not know what we dare accept from the older histories and documentary collections. Nor shall we for a long time have much else. Indeed the older material can be finally evaluated only in the light of information which will for decades be locked in diplomatic and official archives. It is this problem which Professor Andler has tried to meet by studying the older diplomatic materials in connection with the published works of the Pan-Germanists. He has sketched in his prefaces a history of German policy and statecraft since 1800 which makes Pan-Germanism an integral part of German development. The text of his volumes contains what he believes to be the most cogent evidence of the truth of his conclusions. He has deemed it wise to print it at such length because of the comparative unfamiliarity and inaccessibility of his sources. The convenience and usefulness of such an extended collection, so carefully chosen, so faithfully translated, handled in so scholarly and impartial a temper, is apparent to every student.

While Professor Andler has not been unmindful of the purely historical and chronological aspects of the history of Pan-Germanism, and has devoted much space in his long prefaces to them, his real purpose—and to this his text is devoted—is an exposition of Pan-Germanism itself in all its manifold phases and aspects. For its relation to past diplomacy is largely a question of definition; before we can intelligently trace beginnings, find originators and sponsors both past and present, we must first agree upon the thing itself. Nor has Professor Andler been able entirely to solve the riddle over which the Germans themselves are still acrimoniously disputing; one is by no means sure that he is describing in the second volume the same Pan-Germanism whose origins he discussed in the first, though the plan for the organization of Middle Europe seems to be his test formula. The first volume deals with certain intellectual antecedents of Pan-Germanism. The father of its military aspects was Dietrich von Bülow, M. Andler declares; its notion of economic supremacy should be traced to List; the religious mission of the Germanic race comes from Arndt, Jahn, and especially from Paul de Lagarde. From Treitschke came its political philosophy, while Constantin Franz stated best its colonial and expansionist policy. On the whole M. Andler concludes that the Pan-Germanic programme is old and had until 1888 been repeatedly rejected by German statesmen, including Bismarck, as bad statecraft. The prefaces of the second and third volumes contain the narrative of German diplomacy from 1888 to 1914, and the texts furnish an elaborate and admirable exposition of

Pan-Germanism, drawn from the writings of the professed propagandists, the second volume being devoted to plans regarding Europe and Asia Minor and the third to Africa, South America, the United States, and colonization generally. The fourth volume treats at great length of the historical, philosophical, and economic background upon which the Pan-Germanic structure depends for confirmation and verisimilitude.

Scarcely any series of selections could have been made to which some objections could not have been raised or some additions been deemed desirable and M. Andler's judgment on so many points is so careful and discriminating that one is loth to criticize. Still, the allotment of one-fifth of the second volume and a considerable part of the third to Harden and *Die Zukunft*, one-sixth of the third to Rohrbach, and a quarter of the fourth to H. S. Chamberlain and Langbehn, when the Kaiser, Secretary Zimmermann, von Reventlow, and Bernhardt are reduced to less than ten pages each, and Nietzsche, Gobineau, Mahan, and Seeley are not mentioned at all, will surprise both the erudite and the general reader.

Again, the main stress of these volumes is laid upon imperialistic ambitions which involve the rearrangement of the map of Europe and which presuppose military aggression and conquest. That this is good orthodox Pan-Germanism no one will gainsay; but the stress of the ante-bellum Pan-Germanist propaganda was devoted to other issues to which very secondary places are allotted in these volumes—the weaknesses of the position of Germany's rivals, their past aggressions against Germany and present pretensions to world dominion for themselves, Germany's consequent defensive needs to meet their subtle and insidious encroachments, and the necessity for the expansion of the German trade area to keep pace with the growth of population. These were the notions accepted most widely in Germany, while the imperialistic dreams were in many quarters regarded as dangerous and unsound before the war and still meet with strenuous opposition from important groups. The expository purpose of Professor Andler makes this objection of less weight but this change of emphasis somewhat lessens the value of these volumes as an historical presentation of Pan-Germanism as a movement. Others will feel that the pamphlets distributed gratis to the general public and the school-books memorized in the gymnasia rather than books published through the usual channels contain the material of most value for a study of the opinions of the masses and should have been accorded more extended treatment. Nevertheless, when all is said, these volumes remain a solid and important contribution to the reconstruction of the history of German diplomacy.

ROLAND G. USHER.

L'Europe avant la Guerre. Par AUGUSTE GAUVAIN. (Paris: Armand Colin. 1917. Pp. 303. 3.50 fr.)

IN this little volume are collected a number of magazine articles written, with the exception of the last, in the years immediately before the war. They deal with some of the crises, particularly the Morocco crisis and the various Balkan crises through which Europe passed between 1908 and 1913, and are informed, intelligent, but slight treatments of these grave situations. The article which is most carefully studied deals with the origin of the Balkan alliances of 1912 and, though clearly developed, suffers from a very imperfect documentation. Everything considered, these essays, written for the general public, would not be suitable for review in a scientific journal of history, if it were not for the fact that they are held together by the political philosophy which was dominant among enlightened Europeans before the war and which, because of possible transformations occasioned by the present catastrophe, it is worth while to seize and define.

How does the author envisage the crises which he sketches and, what is more important still, the whole European development? To begin with, as a Frenchman he has a French patriotism; but let us hurry to testify that it is generally moderate and never offensive. Far more significant is it that he persistently sees events from the angle of diplomacy. He is on the whole pleased with Europe: things are as they have to be. The nations are patriotic and armed to the teeth. They are divided into two groups, the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente, which are in balance and which, in the main, successfully and happily neutralize each other. The diplomat-author has the air of perpetually studying the scales and cannot refrain from expressing a joyful professional satisfaction when he is enabled to constate their perfect equilibrium. This felicitous European stalemate has brought it about that the European nations in their irrepressible energy have thrown themselves upon the backward and undeveloped lands outside of Europe, thus producing the colonial movement. This amusingly diplomatic explanation of colonial origins is voiced on page 25. The colonial movement is in itself wholly admirable and has proceeded in accordance with the law of nature, for the rest of the world exists to be civilized by Europe. Of course it is going to be exploited too, but that is incidental to a healthy process which it would be foolish to decry. Now let there be no mistake: the author wants this, on the whole, satisfactory play of world forces to continue without the sword ever flying from the scabbard. He is for peace and he thinks peace is perfectly possible, with its excellent concomitants of a balance of armaments in Europe and an accelerated "civilizing" of the backward continents—on one condition. Nations must learn to use—they are passionately implored to use—what the author calls the *manière douce* instead of the *manière forte*. Here lies the hope of mankind, as he tries to bring home to his reader by many instances. Every new crisis in Europe, how does it

come about otherwise than by the foreign offices, and the excitable newspapers and populations behind them, showing a regrettable preference for the *manière forte*? In the Moroccan crisis of 1911, for instance, the author distributes his blame almost equally between France and Germany: France was too precipitate to realize on her investment, Germany was incredibly rude (p. 50). In the same way Austria is taken to task for showing a lack of consideration for Turkey in 1908, and Italy was, if anything, even more offensive in her manner of seizing Tripoli three years later.

Such then was the wisdom of the intelligent diplomat-historian before 1914. Stirred by the war to the very depth of our nature, we are fairly appalled by the shallowness of the analysis and the quackery of the remedies. But even more appalling is this thought: if the gentlemen who will gather together to draw up the great Peace are diplomats or diplomatic historians of the old school, satisfied with things as they are (except for the lamentable inclination of governments to use the loud pedal), without the vision of a world-union on the basis of a new moral and spiritual orientation, what becomes of the New Europe of which our dreamers dream?

FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

The Ruling Class and Frenzied Trade in Germany. By MAURICE MILLIoud, Professor of Sociology in the University of Lausanne. With an Introduction by the Right Hon. Sir FREDERICK POLLOCK, Bart, P.C., D.C.L., LL.D. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1916. Pp. 159. \$1.00.)

THE interest attracted to this book of a Swiss professor, at the time of its publication, was probably due in large measure to the fact that it set out to demonstrate the weakness of Germany's economic system. It appeared at a time when perplexity over the financial staying power of the German Empire, under the stress of war, was at its height. Even as late as 1915, the banking community of the world at large had been talking of the war being terminated by "economic exhaustion"; and Germany, with her foreign trade suddenly cut off, with practically no means of raising funds abroad for her war expenses, and with her three allies virtually bankrupt or in a precarious financial situation, had seemed to be indicated as the power likely first to succumb.

Yet not the least indication of such exhaustion had appeared. Each successive war loan, issued at intervals of six months, elicited larger subscriptions than its predecessor. One war loan of 1915 surpassed all previous achievements of any government, and has even to-day been overtopped, in the amount of subscriptions, only by the British war loan of last February and by Germany's own loan of the ensuing April. Professor Millioud's thesis, that the remarkable economic development of Germany, in the twenty or thirty years before the war, was itself built up by essentially unsound methods, and that an overwhelming

economic catastrophe had been surely foreshadowed as a result of it, seemed to throw light, not only on the German financial achievements in peace, but on the nature and probable longer outcome of the government's financial achievements in war.

From this point of view, there is much that is enlightening in the book under review. The "pyramiding" of capital for purposes of economic penetration of foreign markets; the subordinating of the home market's welfare to the main objective of the world-exploiting policy; the diverting of banks from their proper functions to the promotion of foreign enterprise on a constantly expanding scale, with extension of credits for periods far beyond the limits prescribed by the experience of prudent bankers—each and all of these expedients, described as an element in the period before the war, has subsequently been invoked for the purpose of ensuring success to the empire's war borrowings.

Formal appeals of the treasury to German investors have urged the use of securities already owned as a basis for credits wherewith to subscribe to the government's war loans, and have intimated indefinite extension of such credits. The condition of the currency (shown by the recent discount of nearly 50 per cent. in the mark on foreign exchange), the complete disorder of other industries than those producing war material, and the attempt to dispense entirely with taxes as a means of meeting war expenditure, are parallel instances in the subordination of the home market to the imperial programme. The extent to which the portfolios of the German private banks have been progressively crowded with loans to promote subscriptions to the government's borrowings is at least suggested by the prodigious rediscounting operations of the Reichsbank at every quarter-day; notably by the \$1,000,000,000 expansion of its loan account in the week before last April's loan was floated. It is no unreasonable presumption that, whether or not Professor Millioud's view is correct, of economic catastrophe as an outcome of Germany's methods in obtaining economic dominion over the outside world, the prophecy will at least be realized in the longer sequel to her war financing.

But this is not what the author undertakes primarily to prove. The aim of his book is to demonstrate that misgiving and apprehension as to the approaching crash, in consequence of the overdone exploitation of foreign fields, were the real cause of the present war. Rather than await "the downfall of her credit, the misery which must overwhelm her people, and the fury which would perhaps possess them in consequence", Germany seized what she thought to be the opportunity for a successful war, such as would sweep aside all other considerations.

The reader will hardly be convinced that the events of 1914 admit of this single explanation. That the commercial classes may have been reconciled to those events, through doubt regarding their own financial prospects, is possible. There is evidence that such an influence prevailed in Austria, whose financial condition in 1914 was notoriously

bad. Yet all the evidence which we have goes to show that the great bankers and business men of Germany were simply swept along in the rush of governmental actions and policies suddenly disclosed, and that ever since the possibility of an immediate victory disappeared, they have been insistent in pressing for peace on the best terms obtainable.

Professor Millioud examines, and dismisses as unsatisfactory, each of what he describes as the four prevalent explanations of why Germany declared war. It was not a counter-blow against the suddenly imminent "Russian peril". It was not expression of the Nietzschean doctrine that might is right and war the proper assertion of it. That pleasing theory, the author states, was effect, not cause. The war was not a blow to free Germany from the strangle-hold of the surrounding powers; no such strangle-hold existed. Nor was it, so thinks the author, an attempt to achieve lasting prosperity through crushing and financially ruining commercial competitors. Germany, he holds, was perfectly well aware beforehand that in a long war she had economically more to lose than her antagonists; especially with England one of them.

These explanations once disposed of, Professor Millioud asserts that his own explanation, of a desperate recourse to avert or obscure the approaching financial crisis, is established. The conclusion will not be readily admitted. It leaves quite out of account the gospel of hate, the fanaticism over a coming trial of strength with France or England, the belief, not only in Germany's invincibility but in the certainty of her speedy victory with a huge indemnity, which had for years possessed the mind of the dominant military caste in Germany. The secrecy and suddenness with which what appeared to be their opportunity was seized by them—even the Kaiser possibly being taken unawares—is no bad evidence of a long-postponed but predetermined purpose. It is possible, indeed, to apply to this military caste the supposition applied by Professor Millioud to the commercial magnates. May not the Junker party, rather than the banking and exporting group, have foreseen the probable downfall of their power in Germany; a personal catastrophe which could be averted only by an early and successful war?

ALEXANDER D. NOYES.

The War of Democracy: the Allies' Statement. (Garden City and New York: Doubleday, Page, and Company. 1917. Pp. xxiv, 441. \$2.00.)

THE subtitle is misleading. This volume does not contain any of the official utterances which have defined the position and purpose of the Entente Allies.

We do find, however, a score of brief essays and interviews, concisely and forcefully phrased, in which fifteen eminent statesmen and publicists offer their individual judgments upon some of the issues of the war. Ten of the fifteen are English; two are French; one is Belgian; one, Dutch; and one, Alsatian. Nearly half of the volume is

filled with selections from four men: Mr. Balfour on maritime questions, Professor Gilbert Murray on ethical and cultural issues, Viscount Grey on various aims for which Great Britain is contending, and Viscount Bryce, who strikes the keynote for the volume in a general introduction. In addition to that, Lord Bryce discusses "Neutral Nations and the War", and, in a third essay, declares Great Britain to be the defender of five principles, *viz.*: liberty, nationality, maintenance of treaty obligations, humane regulation of methods of warfare, and the triumph of the pacific over the military type of civilization.

In passing it may be noted that on page xi of the introduction, Viscount Bryce has by a strange oversight assigned the Russo-Japanese War to the year 1901 instead of 1904-1905.

Mr. Edward Price Bell, London correspondent of the Chicago *Daily News*, contributes an interview with Lord Haldane concerning the latter's visit to Germany in 1912. A prominent Alsatian lawyer and Francophile, Paul Albert Helmer, discusses German rule in his country. A Belgian statesman and a Dutch professor render a similar service concerning Belgium. Professor Henri Hauser of the university of Dijon writes of German industry as a factor making for war, and Maurice Barrès pictures "The Soul of France" as typified by Sister Julie at Gerbéviller-le-Martyr. H. A. L. Fisher considers "The Value of Small States", and G. M. Trevelyan provides a very short account of the Serbian race. One chapter contains a history of the Cavell case; in another Lloyd George tells an Italian journalist why the Allies will win, and in a third is Mr. Asquith's speech in reply to the German chancellor in April, 1916. Mr. Balfour's discussion of naval questions comes no nearer to our time than the summer of 1915, and this fact suggests the most obvious comment upon this whole volume. It is not keyed to the present moment. It meets no present vital need. The entry of the United States into the war and the overturn in Russia have profoundly altered the "War of Democracy". This book contains nothing about the vanished Russia of the Czar, and it is equally dumb about the Russia of Kerensky.

The volume entitled *The War and Democracy*, which Messrs. Seton-Watson, Wilson, Zimmern, and Greenwood published in 1915, is incomparably superior to this one in value for either the student or the general reader. The book which interprets the significance of the war in its relation to recent democratic policies and progress is not yet written.

C. H. LEVERMORE.

The Frontiers of Language and Nationality in Europe. By LEÓN DOMINIAN. (New York: Published for the American Geographical Society of New York by Henry Holt and Company. 1917. Pp. xviii, 375. \$3.00.)

THE publication of this book is timely. Questions of nationality are

the most difficult issues to be settled at the end of the war. The European nationalities are, with certain well-known exceptions, as the Belgian, Swiss, and Irish, virtually linguistic groups, and especially in eastern and southeastern Europe, where lie most of the outstanding problems, language is the only tangible and available criterion of nationality. Now, even with the fullest recognition of nationality as the basis of political independence or autonomy, it is not to be expected, not even possible, that political boundaries should coincide precisely with linguistic boundaries. But it is the first essential to know what these latter are. Yet the requisite information is scattered through countless statistical reports, local monographs, and articles in journals of diverse character, linguistic, historical, and geographical.

Mr. Dominian, who is a graduate of Robert College, Constantinople, and has the advantage of familiarity with the languages of Southeastern Europe, is conversant with this scattered literature, and has made the results available in what, so far as I know, is the only single work which combines sufficient detail with so broad a scope. Especially convenient are the many linguistic maps, and one would welcome still more of them, at the sacrifice of the profuse illustrations of scenery which have presumably been borrowed from elsewhere to adorn the book. For example, the "View of Dissentis in the section of Switzerland where Romansh is spoken" might well be replaced by a map of the Romansh speech area, and most of the illustrations are still less relevant to the discussion. A reduced reproduction of Cvijić's ethnographical (=linguistic) map of the Balkans from *Petermanns Mitteilungen* of March, 1913, would have been a valuable addition.

A full linguistic atlas of Europe is a desideratum, and the author has come so near to supplying it that one regrets he did not go further and include many more of the available but scattered linguistic maps of different sections. The areas of present Celtic speech are not discussed. True, they have no bearing on any present problem of nationality, not even the Irish question. But that is true also of several other boundaries which are discussed. The areas of Lithuanian and of Lettic are stated only in the most general terms. Tetzner, *Die Slawen in Deutschland*, a work not mentioned in the author's bibliography, contains the fullest information, with detailed maps, for the Prussian Lithuanians, Cassubians, Masurians, Wends, etc.

However, the sections of most general interest for the coming problems of reconstruction are those dealing with the areas of Polish, Bohemian (including Slovak), and the Balkan languages, and with the peoples of Asiatic Turkey. The treatment is objective and impartial. In the case of Macedonia, Servian and Greek critics will certainly accuse the author of having accepted outright the Bulgarian view, and will point out with truth that he has taken his statistics from Bulgarian sources (Brancoff, Tsanoff, Schopoff; Brailsford's *Macedonia*, which gives much the same conclusion, and which, despite an over-

reaction against the extreme Greek claims, is on the whole unpartizan, is neither quoted, nor mentioned in the bibliography). But the fact remains, and ought to be faced, that the prevailingly Slavic population of inland Macedonia was never even claimed as Serbian until after Serbia's disappointment at being denied access to the Adriatic. With removal of the ban on Serbia's natural expansion westward and some compromise with the Hellenism which is strongly intrenched in the larger towns, a permanent solution of the Macedonian question ought to be possible. The previous blunders of European diplomacy, of commission and omission, seem intolerable, now that we see to what they have given an opening.

"The inhabitants of Albania are totally devoid of national feeling. Various causes militate against national unity." The second statement is true, but the first is much too strong. Despite religious differences, tribal feuds, and backward social conditions, the Albanians are fully conscious that they are not Slavs, Turks, or Greeks, but a distinct nationality. The sentiment is not less there because it has not overcome the obstacles to effectiveness. Witness the formal demands of the Albanian leaders in 1911 for Turkish recognition of Albanian nationality and language, and the vaguer dreams of the peasants described in Miss Edith Durham's *High Albania* (also not mentioned in the author's bibliography). It is not unlikely that this small nationality will be sacrificed to larger issues. But an Italian protectorate would at least give it a much better chance to try itself out than a division between Serbia and Greece, which have an inherited contempt for the very idea of Albanian nationality and would aim to uproot it. Recognition of an Italian protectorate might also induce Italy to withdraw her claims to the Dalmatian coast, thereby aiding Serbo-Croatian unity (and so indirectly the solution of the Macedonian question), and to give up the purely Greek islands of Rhodes, Cos, etc., her retention of which is the grossest violation of principles proclaimed.

In matters touching the character, history, and relationship of languages, there are not a few remarks which savor of uncritical popular philology, some merely naïve in expression, some positively erroneous. But these do not seriously affect the main purpose and value of the book.

C. D. BUCK.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

American State Trials. A Collection of the Important and Interesting Criminal Trials which have taken Place in the United States from the Beginning of the Government to the present Day. By JOHN D. LAWSON, LL.D. Volumes VI., VII. (St. Louis: F. H. Thomas Law Book Company. 1916-1917. Pp. xxvi, 905; xxvi, 974. \$5.00 per vol.)

THESE two volumes of Dr. Lawson's inestimable work are as useful and interesting as those which precede them. They increase the debt due him by historians and members of his profession. The parts which show the greatest care in their preparation are the reports of the trial of the Knapps and Crowninshield for the murder of White in Massachusetts, which contain Webster's most famous speech to a jury, and of that of John Brown and his associates in Virginia. The reprint of the trial of Alexander McLeod for taking part in the burning of the steamship *Caroline* under authority from the British government, will also, since the original edition is rare, be of value to the historian. The state authorities and the state judge, an eminent common lawyer, then acted against the protest of the national government and were severely criticized by Webster for their conduct. Had the accused not been acquitted, the case would have caused serious international complications. Dr. Lawson omits any reference to the act of Congress passed in consequence of this prosecution (act of August 29, 1842, c. 257, 5 *St. at L.* 539, now incorporated in *U. S. R. S.* § 753), which gives the federal courts power to issue a writ of *habeas corpus* when a prisoner in a state jail

being a subject or citizen of a foreign state, and domiciled therein, is in custody for an act done or omitted under any alleged right, title, authority, privilege, protection, or exemption claimed under the commission, or order, or sanction of any foreign state, or under color thereof, the validity and effect whereof depend upon the law of nations.

The editor describes John Brown as an "insane fanatic" but in the biography he omits any reference to the massacre authorized by Brown at Pottawatomie.

The arrangement of the contents is less at haphazard than in the former volumes, although it is still neither chronological nor topical and by no means logical or scientific. The juxtaposition of the court martial of Benedict Arnold, resentment at which seems to have been the motive of his treason, with the trials of André and Joshua H. Smith is commendable. So is the conclusion of volume VII., two cases affecting liquor sellers in which one lost and the other won.

The first is the trial in New Bedford, Mass., 1845, of the publishers of the *Dew Drop* for a libel upon a liquor seller, where an acquittal was secured by an admirable argument by Henry Stanton, the husband of that great woman Elizabeth Cady Stanton. This is followed by the trial in Albany, New York, 1855, where a jury acquitted a hotel-keeper upon the ground that the New York prohibition act of April 9, 1855, was unconstitutional although the trial judge had charged them that the statute was valid. This last report preserves from oblivion one of the greatest arguments to a jury that was ever delivered, a speech which will stand comparison with any by Erskine, Choate, or Webster. It was made by John K. Porter, whose memory, like that of most lawyers,

had hitherto seemed to be ephemeral. Dr. Lawson makes no reference to the decision of the court of appeals in *Wynhamer v. People* (13 N. Y. 378), which reversed the court below (20 Barbour 567, 11 How. 530), and held that the act of April 9, 1855, was unconstitutional. He refers to the advocate's connection with the trial of Guiteau, although without any mention of the famous cross-examination of the prisoner which probably more than anything that occurred upon the trial convinced the jury that Guiteau was responsible for his act. He does not, however, refer to the fact that Judge Porter served on the New York court of appeals from 1865 to 1867. The absence of any biography of Nicholas Hill, jr., who was Judge Porter's associate in the Albany trial, is unfortunate. He was, perhaps, the greatest common lawyer who has practised in the state of New York. His briefs that are preserved in the reports are still used as models for legal arguments. He was the editor of *Hill's Reports*. His portrait is in the court-house of the New York court of appeals. He and Judge Esek Cowen are the joint authors of that great repository of learning, Cowen and Hill's *Notes to Phillips on Evidence*. It is surprising that an author such as Dr. Lawson, who has himself produced a meritorious treatise upon a topic of that branch of the law, should not, in the biography of Judge Cowen, when referring to that book, have shown an appreciation of its value.

Rufus Choate surely deserves more than the skeleton of a biography which is contained in the note after his name. The traditions and anecdotes concerning him which are still repeated in Massachusetts should have been preserved in a work like this which is intended to be a legal classic. The bibliographical note to the trial of André does not mention Chandler's *Criminal Trials* although Chandler is quoted in the subsequent report of the trial of Joshua H. Smith.

Those who use the work as a book of reference will be inconvenienced by the persistence of the editor in his habit of inserting much important historical matter in his prefaces without adequate references to them in the notes to the subsequent reports of the trials. But this generation and posterity should be grateful to Dr. Lawson for his labors.

ROGER FOSTER.

Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois. Jahrgang 1916. Herausgegeben von Dr. JULIUS GOEBEL, Professor an der Staatsuniversität von Illinois. [Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter, vol. XVI.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1917. Pp. 398. \$3.00.)

THE *Jahrbuch* of 1916 opens with a thorough study of the life and works of Carl Follen, by G. W. Spindler. Here for the first time all biographical sources are taken into account, both the German, of Treitschke, Biedermann, Haupt, and Pregizer, treating Follen's revolutionary activity, and the American, beginning with but by no means limited to

that fundamental tribute to her husband by Eliza Cabot Follen, in five volumes, *The Works of Carl Follen with a Memoir of his Life*. While doing justice to the great mass of material, Dr. Spindler does not fail to bring out clearly the leading features in the portrait. Carl Follen was above all else an ardent reformer. In the period of political reaction in Europe he was an uncompromising republican, making an appeal to force and revolution; having fled to Switzerland he assailed the bondage of hide-bound Calvinism; a refugee in America he became a persuasive advocate of the liberal church movement, and soon took up the cause of enslaved humanity, becoming one of the earliest and most courageous of the radical abolitionists. True to his principles he repeatedly forfeited his position and prospects and chanced the supreme sacrifice of life in the cause which he espoused. In three countries he gave up academic positions which were very congenial and useful to him. The universities of Jena, Basel, and Harvard either dismissed or refused to retain this daring, eloquent apostle of free speech and liberal thought. When the First Unitarian Church of New York City, which he had served with distinction, refused to appoint him permanently because of his activity in the cause of abolition, he might well conclude that the world had no place for a true reformer. Yet he was no idle dreamer, for each of the principles for which he fought, national unity and constitutional reform in Germany, liberal church doctrines and abolition of slavery in America, were accepted in course of time by public opinion. Follen always fought on the most advanced line of battle, where certain death overtakes the brave before they can gather in the fame or fruits of their achievements.

The reformer does not complete the portrait of Carl Follen. We must follow him in his favorite studies, expounding Schiller (temperamentally his double), the first professor of German language and literature at Harvard, the pioneer of German studies in America; we must see him the founder of gymnastics after the model of Jahn, the popular instructor leading a procession, practically the whole college, out from the Harvard yard, "at a dog-trot in single file, and arms akimbo, making a train a mile long bound for the top of Prospect Hill".

Among the most valuable contributions of Dr. Spindler are his investigation of Follen's share in the foundation of the Burschenschaften, and his critical estimate of the influence of Follen upon W. E. Channing and other leaders of the Unitarian Church. His study of the interrelations between German idealism and New England transcendentalism, while not exhaustive, is lucid, judicial, and convincing. To the bibliography there should be added the mention of the separate edition of Mrs. Follen's biography (London, 1845), and Kuno Francke's "Karl Follen and the German Liberal Movement" (1815-1819) in *Papers of the American Historical Association*, vol. V. (1891). A separate reprint of Dr. Spindler's monograph has been made available.

In view of the approaching hundredth anniversary of the entrance of Illinois into statehood, the *Jahrbuch* appropriately gives space to early settlement history, *e. g.*, an account of the German farms near Belleville, and Gustav Koerner's critical review of Duden's book on the western states. The concluding article is by Mildred S. MacArthur, on the German Element in the State of Colorado. While teaching at Colorado University, Dr. MacArthur for more than three years carried on a painstaking investigation of the character and influence of the Germans in the state, through correspondence, personal interviews, studies of the files of newspapers and other contemporary and historical materials, and arrived at certain conclusions. Colorado is typical of the far western states in so far as the foreign element is not as large as in many other sections. Still the foreign element is influential, the German being the most numerous and having contributed very largely to the building up of the state in all sections and at all periods. The Germans have been conspicuous in certain industries, as sugar-beet culture, in truck farming, in irrigation and forestry improvements, in mining, brewing, and trading. Their social customs, churches, singing and gymnastic societies, journals, and educational aspirations are well described in a final chapter.

ALBERT B. FAUST.

Household Manufactures in the United States, 1640-1860: a Study in Industrial History. By ROLLA MILTON TRYON, Assistant Professor of the Teaching of History in the University of Chicago. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1917. Pp. xii, 413. \$2.00.)

THE purposes of this book, as expressed in the preface, are (1) "to determine the extent to which household manufacturing was carried on in the United States prior to 1860, the phases and processes relative to the industry, and the products resulting therefrom", and (2) "to relate household manufactures to the people's social, political, and general industrial life". In carrying out the first of these purposes, the author has attained a large measure of success. His detailed description of the numerous articles of clothing, food-stuffs, and household furnishings made by the people in their own homes, his careful explanation of now-forgotten processes such as the preparation of flax and woollen fibres and the manufacture of soap and tallow-dips, his information concerning the geographical distribution of the home industries, all mark the book as the best and most complete description of household manufactures in this country.

But the reader whose interest lies more in the author's second purpose will probably be disappointed. In a short introductory chapter, pages 1-12, there is indeed comment of a general nature upon the characteristic features of social life prevailing in communities industrially

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self-sufficient. The important educational aspects of home-manufacturing are also described. But little of the exposition and illustration of the body of the work is devoted to these subjects.

The chief economic conditions affecting household manufactures, we learn, were: "(1) a general decline in prices and the uncertainty of supplies just after 1640; (2) adequate or inadequate transportation facilities; (3) occupation of the people; (4) staple crops; (5) fluctuations in the supply and price of tobacco; and (6) favorable or unfavorable balance of trade" (pp. 43-44). It is to be feared that most readers will fail to get from this formidable list, or from the detailed discussion which follows, a clear conception of the position of household manufactures in the colonial economic organization. For the author has failed to emphasize sufficiently the intimate relation between these manufactures and the agricultural industry. Spinning and weaving, the making of tables and chairs, brooms, soap, and candles were but by-industries of farming. The simple truth is that the farmer and his family made all these things for themselves because they could not get them in any other way. The lack of a market for farm products was the difficulty confronting most farmers in inland regions up to 1810. Without such a market there could be no purchase of goods from outside. The important consequence from the point of view of economic or "industrial" history, which Professor Tryon fails to point out, was the low efficiency of the community in production, resulting from the lack of a well-developed division of labor.

The process of transition from home-made to shop- and factory-made goods, which took place in the half-century before the Civil War, the author quite appropriately terms an industrial revolution. In chapter VII. the early steps in the transition, first from household manufactures to the handicraft stage and finally to the factory system, are traced in considerable detail with especial reference to the textile industries. The final chapter, treating the period 1830-1860, is made up principally (67 out of 74 pages) of an elaborate table computed from the censuses of 1840, 1850, and 1860 showing the per capita value of household manufactures in every county in the United States at these three dates. Such a mass of figures undoubtedly proves the author's contention that "the end of the period found family-made goods the exception rather than the general rule as formerly". Some of these pages might better have discussed the social significance of the "Passing of the Family Factory". What employments were found for the labor force set free in the farm-houses? Where did the people get the money to buy store goods? To what extent did this revolution bring with it a rising standard of living among the rural folk? What rural amusements took the place of the husking-bees and the quilting-parties? Such questions cannot be answered from census figures alone.

In general, Professor Tryon's book has both the merits and the defects of an essay in economic history written by one whose training

and point of view are those of an historian rather than of an economist. The facts garnered with painstaking industry from a wide range of sources have been grouped into a well-planned, coherent exposition. The technique of the book is admirable; the classified bibliography is the most complete yet published on the subject; a good index increases the value of the book for reference purposes. But the writer of economic history must do more than this. Only by the constant application of the principles of economic science can he give an adequate, well-reasoned explanation of a past industrial system, the causes of its origin and of its peculiar characteristics, and the reasons for its eventual decay and disappearance.

PERCY WELLS BIDWELL.

Early Narratives of the Northwest, 1634-1699. Edited by LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG, Ph.D., of the Research Department of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. [Original Narratives of Early American History.] (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1917. Pp. xiv, 382. \$3.00.)

If the early history of Wisconsin and neighboring regions is not adequately accessible to future generations, it will be through no fault of a group of zealous and competent students who, perhaps inspired by the examples of Draper the collector, and Thwaites, collector and editor, continue the work in true historical spirit and scientific method. If Wisconsin is fortunate in her students, she is also abundantly rich in material for study.

In this volume are printed in English translation from original texts, thirteen narratives of journeys or episodes, in the region of the Upper Great Lakes and the Upper Mississippi. Vimont's brief account of Jean Nicolet, who, fourteen years after the Landing of the Pilgrims, had made his way into the region between Green Bay and the Mississippi, is followed by Lalemant's report of the journey of Raymbault and Jogues to Sault Ste. Marie, in 1641, and this in turn by Radisson's none too lucid account of his third voyage—but first to the region under study—referred, with some doubt, to the years 1658-1660. The text is drawn from the Prince Society edition of Radisson's Journals, and a facsimile page is given of Radisson's singularly modern-looking manuscript, in the Bodleian Library. Three chapters of La Potherie's *Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, relating the adventures of Nicolas Perrot in the Northwest; Father Allouez's journey to Lake Superior, 1665-1667, and his later journey into Wisconsin, 1669-1670, are followed by the whole of Galinée's *Journal*, 1669-1670. Then we have one of three known accounts of the pageant at Sault Ste. Marie in 1671—a spectacular ceremony by which France sought to assert supremacy over the not greatly impressed aborigines. Other papers are: the Mississippi voyage of Marquette and Jolliet in 1673, and Marquette's last voyage of 1674-1675; Tonty's Memoir on La Salle's discoveries—the

ampler of Tonty's two authentic narratives, not to be confused with the spurious work ascribed to him; a memoir of Duluth in the Sioux country, 1678-1682; and the letter of St. Cosme, describing his journey from Mackinac to the Arkansas, 1698-1699.

All of the narratives thus brought together are elsewhere printed, but not all are readily available, nor are all English versions complete or trustworthy. The Tonty memoir, here given in full, should prove useful to students of a wider field than that to which this volume is specially devoted. So, too, we have Galinée in full, but without the map, which indeed has more value in relation to the Lower Lakes than for the western region. Dr. James H. Coyne's translation is used; his notes which accompanied the bilingual publication of Galinée by the Ontario Historical Society, are not used, as they relate chiefly to differences between the Margry and Verreau texts. For all of the journals, Miss Kellogg's abundant annotation is helpful. We wish she had added one more note, explaining Radisson's wonderful word, *auxotacicac* (p. 65). The clearly-penned introduction to each narrative not merely summarizes it, but informs the student of what printing it has already had, either in French or English, and makes plain the editor's choice of text. Not the least interesting feature of the work is a facsimile of a contemporary map drawn to illustrate Marquette's discoveries, here reproduced from the original in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. A portion of Franquelin's map of 1688 is also given. Few typographic slips are noted; even La Salle (Cavelier), recorded in more than one work as "Chevalier", gets through safely here, with but one transformation into "Cavalier" (p. 164).

The volume as a whole bespeaks scholarly care and regard for the needs of a large class of students to whom rare volumes or obscure texts may not be available; and admirably presents the essential original material of the first half-century and more, from the first known advent of the white man in the *pays d'en haut*.

An Old Frontier of France: the Niagara Region and Adjacent Lakes under French Control. By FRANK H. SEVERANCE. In two volumes. (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company. 1917. Pp. xvii, 436; xi, 485. \$7.50.)

In these two stout volumes Mr. Severance has told the story of the Niagara frontier from the days of the first white man who visited the region to the capture of Fort Niagara by Sir William Johnson in 1759. For Mr. Severance's purpose the Niagara frontier is more than the stretch of water connecting Ontario with the Upper Lakes; it includes the whole compass of Lake Ontario and the eastern end of Lake Erie. Frontenac and Oswego, Presqu' Isle and Venango, all come within the scope of his narrative.

Strategically this was the most important section of the whole line of frontier. French, English, Iroquois, and the tribes of the Upper

Lakes and the Ohio were all vitally concerned with this all-important link in the line of communications between Montreal, Albany, and the Mohawk Valley on the one hand and the country north and south of the lakes on the other. How the French came to control it, and thereby checkmated the English, gained the trade and alliance of the western tribes, and made the Iroquois waver in their friendship for the English, the author has related in these volumes.

No one is so well qualified as Mr. Severance to tell the story of this region. With its topography and later history he has long been familiar, and he has evidently spent years collecting material for this work, laying under contribution manuscript sources in the archives of Paris, London, and Ottawa, contemporary newspapers and pamphlets and familiar printed collections like the *New York Colonial Documents*. Few facts can have escaped his notice.

The author has in his preface anticipated the chief criticisms which may be urged against his presentation of the mass of material thus collected. He has deliberately chosen to give the reader all the facts, however minute, and wherever possible he has allowed the principal actors to speak for themselves, with a minimum of personal comment and explanation. Where he does venture a conclusion, it is always based on unimpeachable documentary evidence. "Conjecture is not history", is his motto (I. 124). Mr. Severance has also chosen to make his book supplementary to existing narratives. To that end he has used unfamiliar sources in describing familiar episodes, and has treated in detail only events which occurred in the Niagara region, even where those events are only part of larger and more important operations. The result is a work for the specialist and not for the general reader, one which will be found to disclose new facts and sources of information rather than to change fundamentally the reader's conception of the character of the men and events under consideration.

Within these self-imposed limitations the book is one of great value. Those who seek new light on the operations of the Albany traders will be disappointed, but will conclude that material bearing on that subject must indeed be scarce since Mr. Severance has not found more. But the historian who desires a detailed account of French activities on the Niagara frontier and of the English attempts, finally successful, to wrest it from French control, will find here a perfect mine of information. Nowhere else can so good an account be found of early naval operations on Lake Ontario, and students of the frontier will be grateful for the careful identification of little-known French soldiers and officials who played some part in the history of this region. The very massing of details, together with the numerous quotations, often results in the creation of a vivid impression of men and events.

Above all the narrative is concerned with the activities of the Joncaire family, who for half a century were the leading representatives of France in western New York. It was the elder Joncaire whose influ-

ence with the Senecas enabled the French to erect the fort at Niagara, and his sons, especially the younger, Chabert de Joncaire, kept French influence paramount in that region. The career of the latter will be found very instructive of the methods and difficulties of the frontier diplomats who upheld the power of France among the fickle Indian tribes. Whether he is wheedling a favor from some Indian tribe, or checkmating English intrigues, or peacefully conducting his establishment at Niagara, or, after the English conquest, standing trial at Paris for alleged complicity in the enormous frauds which disgraced the last days of the French régime, Chabert is always self-confident, always interesting. The temptation to quote his memoirs, so freely quoted by the author, would be irresistible did space permit.

If we are ever to understand the obscure struggle which for nearly a century went on along the frontier between the English and French colonies, we must have more studies like this. Mr. Severance has done for the Niagara frontier what Mr. Hanna in his *Wilderness Trail* did for the less-familiar Pennsylvania frontier. May there be other studies of the same sort. Certainly no student of the region and period can afford to remain unacquainted with what will probably long remain a definitive study of this "Old Frontier of France".

A. H. BUFFINTON.

Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States, 1678-1702: the Beginnings of Texas and Pensacola. By WILLIAM EDWARD DUNN, Instructor in Latin-American History in the University of Texas. [University of Texas Bulletins, no. 1705, January 20, 1917, Studies in History, no. I.] (Austin, Texas: University of Texas. 1917. Pp. 238.)

To persons interested in the colonization of the lower Mississippi Valley Mr. Dunn's book will be most interesting reading. Until the appearance of the present volume the Spanish side of the story of settlement on the Gulf coast had not been told. Students of this period of the history of the United States have felt this omission and will welcome this admirable narrative, so well worked out of a mass of new documentary material found by the author in the archives of Spain.

In chapter I. the story is told of how "the unscrupulous ambitions of Louis XIV." on the Continent of Europe led the Spaniards to believe that the French king "merely awaited a favorable opportunity to extend his aggressions to the new world", and that he would seize upon the first chance "to wrest away the choicest portions of her colonial domain". Not much interest was aroused in the matter until a definite scheme of conquest threatened Spain's claims to the Gulf region. Chapter II. contains an account of the receipt of the news in Mexico and Spain of the establishment of La Salle's colony on Espíritu Santo Bay. Chapter III. deals with the diplomatic activity of the Spaniards at the court of the Catholic James II. of England, where an attempt was made to get the

English king to join Spain in an undertaking to frustrate the new designs of Louis XIV. in the Gulf region. Repeated orders were sent from the mother-country to the officials of New Spain during the years 1687-1690 commanding them to spare no effort "to find the site of the French settlement and to exterminate the invaders". Chapters IV. and V. show how well these orders were obeyed by the colonial officials. No less than five maritime and three land expeditions set out either from Mexico or from Florida in search of La Salle's settlement. "After three and a half years of almost ceaseless agitation and suspense the mystery of the French colony on Espíritu Bay had finally been solved." The fear of further aggression on the part of Louis XIV. caused the Spaniards to undertake the founding of missions among the Texas Indians and the occupation of Pensacola Bay. Chapter VI. reviews the work among the Texas Indians, while chapter VII. gives an account of the establishment of a Spanish fort on Pensacola Bay. Chapter VIII., the concluding one, tells of the second French invasion of the Gulf region and the founding of Iberville's colony on Biloxi Bay and its effect upon the Spaniards. The accession of Philip V., the grandson of Louis XIV., to the throne of Spain soon led to the adjustment of the unsettled question of Pensacola and the French occupation of Louisiana. Spanish acquiescence was hastened by the report that England had designs on Spain's colonies and had already sent out colonizers, and by the difficulty she had encountered in planting a post on Pensacola Bay.

The book has four maps of interest for the period under discussion, and two sketches, one showing the location of La Salle's camp on Matagorda Bay and the other illustrating the Pez-Sigüenza expedition of 1693. The author has succeeded in fixing definitely the exact date of the founding of Pensacola and has given much interesting biographical matter relating to such men as Peñalosa, Echagaray, Monclova, Pez, and others.

The bibliography and index are full and satisfactory, but the appearance of the book would have been improved if the table of illustrations occupied a separate page. It would have been of considerable aid to students if the table of contents had been somewhat more analytical.

N. M. MILLER SURREY.

Life and Letters of the Rev. John Philip Boehm, Founder of the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania, 1683-1749. Edited by the Rev. WILLIAM J. HINKE, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Semitic Languages and Religions in Auburn Theological Seminary. (Philadelphia: Publication and Sunday-School Board of the Reformed Church in the United States. 1916. Pp. xxiv, 501. \$2.00.)

IN several notable particulars there was a broad line of demarcation between the colonization of Pennsylvania and that of the other settlements made along the Atlantic seaboard. The first was the unusual rapidity with which settlers from the Old World made their way into the region between the Delaware and the Susquehanna rivers. It may be questioned whether William Penn himself had an adequate idea of the quick success his "Holy Experiment" would achieve. From what source would his settlers come? He could not count on England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland because the men of his own religion were not numerous in Britain. He did count on the Continent because in the course of his several visits there, he found many who, under various names, held doctrines not far different from those of the Quakers. In 1677 Penn, with Fox and Barclay, advocates of the Quaker faith, crossed the Channel on a mission religious as to its purpose, and with religious tolerance as its corner-stone, and in Germany met men whose faith differed but little from their own. No sooner had Penn secured the charter for his province than his German pamphlets found their way into the Rhine country and presently the tide from the Palatinate and other parts of Germany set in. They came not in hundreds but by thousands and his experiment was a success. With toleration, liberty, and justice as his platform, the non-militant commander became a conqueror.

Secondly, while the people from Germany and Holland were nearly all members of the Reformed faith of Luther and Zwingli, they brought few or no religious teachers with them. With no spiritual leaders or guides, they began to differ with each other and presently half a dozen sects and creeds came to the fore. Beside the Reformed and Lutherans, the Moravians, Mennonites, Schwenkfelders, Seventh Day Baptists, Dunkers, and other minor groups appeared. Only a few of these had an educated ministry. There was lay preaching and praying and the result was that few knew what to do, where to go, or what to believe.

Into this babel of belief came Johann Philip Boehm in 1720, a member of the German Reformed Church, and with his family settled in the Perkiomen valley, Pennsylvania. He had been a "reader" and school-master of the Reformed congregation of the city of Worms and at Lambsheim, and he was persuaded upon his arrival in Pennsylvania to act as pastor and reader for the many German Reformed settlers and also, as there was no hope of securing a regular ordained pastor, to assume the office of minister, which he had for five years declined to do. Three congregations were formed, placed under a single charge; these invited him to become their pastor and then his work and his troubles began. All this was in 1725 and this was the beginning of the regular Reformed worship in Pennsylvania. It was the misfortune of Pastor Boehm to get into many troubles from his early manhood until his death in 1749, and yet after reading all the evidence preserved and printed both in Europe and in Pennsylvania we are compelled to believe that he was an honest man and a faithful servant of his Master.

The fact that, up to the time when he assumed the duties of a minister, he had not been duly licensed as such, was used against him by others with less ability and less sincerity. However, this trouble was finally overcome by his licensure by the Synod of Holland.

Meanwhile the Lutheran element in the population had sent to them from the fatherland the eminent Pastor Mühlenberg, the Moravians sent over Count Zinzendorf, and the Reformed, George Michael Weiss and Michael Schlatter. The number of Germans in the province was nearly or quite 50,000, as early as 1730. About 32,000 were Lutherans and Reformed, and it was among these and the sect people that the fierce scramble for adherents was carried on.

Boehm himself established no less than thirteen congregations during his church activities. As most of them were many miles apart his labors were incessant and tedious. Perhaps no preacher of any denomination had so many struggles to retain his adherents as he, but he was a fighter, a champion of the Church Militant as well as the Church Triumphant. But he won, and that, after all, may be regarded as evidence of the character of the man.

Drs. Harbaugh, Dubbs, and Good have given Boehm a good deal of attention, but as their researches were mainly confined to American authorities and documents, while much pertaining to his career was buried in European synodical and church archives, it was necessary that Dr. Hinke should pursue his career in Holland and Germany. This he has done and his enterprise was richly rewarded. The Royal State Archives at Marburg, the city archives of Worms, yielded no fewer than thirty-two separate documents and a number came from the town archives of Lambsheim. Extracts were also made from the Reformed Church records at Worms, Hanau, Wachenbach, and Hochstädt. Still other finds were made in Heidelberg, Basel, Zürich, and Bern.

Dr. Hinke has allowed Boehm to tell his own story through his own letters, to which are added extracts from the letters of his associates and contemporaries; this seems at once authoritative and fair. All in all, Dr. Hinke's comprehensive work must be regarded as a valuable addition to our knowledge of the religious condition of affairs in eastern Pennsylvania during the early half of the eighteenth century.

FRANK RIED DIFFENDERFFER.

Essays in the Earlier History of American Corporations. By JOSEPH STANCLIFFE DAVIS, Ph.D. In two volumes. [Harvard Economic Studies, vol. XVI., nos. I-IV.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1917. Pp. xiii, 547; x, 419. \$5.00.)

THIS book is a bundle of related but separate studies. Occasionally they overlap. The main essay is on Eighteenth-Century Business Corporations in the United States, and this necessarily embraces a period covered by the first essay, on Corporations in the American Colonies. The second essay, on William Duer, Entrepreneur, includes the story

of his connection with several of the great corporate enterprises of the day. The third, on the First New Jersey Business Corporation, gives a detailed account of the fortunes of the Society for Establishing Useful Manufactures, much of which had already been given in the second essay (I. 270, 271, 317-319), and was to be repeated again in the fourth (pp. 275, 276, 283).

In a history of corporations one would expect to find a definition of what a corporation is. The author of these essays nowhere gives the essential qualities of such an entity; nor does he lay down any direct test of separation between public and private, or between quasi-public and public corporations. It would have been of service if he had either expressly recognized or expressly denied the proposition that the vital essence of a corporation is in its possession of a personality of its own. The courts have framed quite clear definitions. One of private corporations aggregate is this:

An association of persons to whom the sovereign has offered a franchise to become an artificial, juridical person, with a name of its own, under which they can act and contract, and sue and be sued; and who have either accepted the offer and effected an organization in substantial conformity with its terms, (in which case a corporation *de jure* has been constituted); or have done acts indicating a purpose to accept such offer and effected an organization designed to be, but in fact not, in substantial conformity with its terms, (in which case a corporation *de facto* has been constituted).¹

Had any such rule of decision been followed by Dr. Davis, he would hardly have denied (II. 179) the claim² that North Carolina, in 1795, passed the first general incorporation law for business purposes, since the time of the Roman Empire.

Omnis definitio periculosa est. Nevertheless the want of definitions makes it easy to misunderstand or misinterpret facts. It leads to reading them in the light of a preconceived theory.

Thus, in describing (I. 40) the petition for the charter of Providence Plantations of 1643, which asks in terms for "a free charter of Civil Incorporation and Government", the author says that it "seems" to have called for this. Nor does the grant as made, he continues, specifically give any of the general powers customarily belonging to corporations except to make and use a public seal. In fact it gives and confirms to the petitioners

full Power and authority to rule themselves, and such others as shall hereafter inhabit within any Part of the said Tract of land, by such a Form of Civil Government, as by voluntary consent of all or the greater Part of them, they shall find most suitable to their Estate and Condition, and for that end to ordain Civil Laws and Constitutions.

¹ Mackay v. New York, New Haven, and Hartford R. R. Co., 82 Conn. Law Reports 81.

² "The Contributions of North Carolina to the Development of American Institutions", *North Carolina Booklet*, XIV. 147, 154.

It would be difficult to convey greater rights of self-government than this charter did, or the similar one, also treated rather cavalierly (I. 64), of 1649, for the town of Providence.

So Dr. Davis states (II. 294) that he has discovered no instance, prior to 1800, of losses to creditors of business corporations. We feel less inclined to rejoice in such successes of early American finance, because all must depend on what constitutes such a corporation. He rules out many organizations which to others would seem entitled to that name.

The work bears evidence of large and minute investigations of original sources. It is not taken for granted that standard authors are always accurate in their statements or conclusions. Errors in the dates assigned in compilations of high authority to some important papers are fearlessly corrected (II. 87).

Dr. Davis has made good use of the census reports. He finds from that of 1800 that every New England town of over 5000 inhabitants, with three exceptions, had its bank, and also that three having less than 5000 had theirs (II. 102).

The chapters devoted to "William Duer, Entrepreneur", are a frank study of early speculations which followed the Revolution, and in which some public characters of prominence were engaged on a great scale. The Revolution, the author says, with force and truth (I. 178), "had broken down psychological barriers, and established relationships among men of affairs", and made great combinations of American capital practicable for the first time (II. 5). Small capitalists could now find opportunities to grow into great ones. "These years saw the emergence of the stockbrokers' profession" (I. 199).

Joel Barlow is acquitted by Dr. Davis of having done anything worse, in his connection with the Scioto land speculations, than to undertake a business for which he had few qualifications (I. 251).

The author is of opinion that few of the eighteenth-century corporations were financed or controlled by a handful of large capitalists, or speculative promoters, but rather by a coterie of men of moderate means, largely of the merchant class (II. 303). They flourished best where capital had been accumulated in liquid form, such as particularly was afforded by the securities of the United States (II. 296).

An unguarded statement is made (II. 315) that, up to 1800, corporate charters were subject to repeal or alteration at the pleasure of the legislature, although no power to that end had been reserved in the charter. Such was the common opinion at the time; but the Dartmouth College case only declared what the law on this subject had always been. If a legal contract had been closed, by acceptance of a charter involving certain duties on the part of the grantees, it was as inviolable in 1789 as in 1819.

Dr. Davis calls attention (II. 325) to numerous eighteenth-century charters in which interlocking directorates were forbidden.

The style of these volumes is more that of a newspaper reporter than of an historical treatise. St. Clair's troops were "an ill disciplined lot". Rufus King and Gouverneur Morris were too ready to listen to the "siren songs of speculative capitalists". "Wolcott had got wind of Duer's shakiness, and thought to save his own skin, by striking before the fall came." "The Chesapeake and Delaware Bay project bobbed up again and again." This is probably due to the use of the material as a basis of informal instruction in college work.

An appendix to volume II. gives quite a full bibliography. We observe, however, in the list of "Histories of Corporations", no reference to the important work on that subject by the late John P. Davis. In the supplementary list of "Miscellaneous Books and Articles" it is mentioned, but only for its chapter on "Colonial Companies", whereas those on the "Legal View of Corporations" and "Modern Corporations" are largely applicable to early American conditions, while that on "Joint Stock Companies" contains a valuable summary of the doings of the English companies chartered to trade with America—a topic briefly treated by the work under review (I. 34 *et seq.*).

SIMEON E. BALDWIN.

The Records of the Original Proceedings of the Ohio Company.

Edited with Introduction and Notes by ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT, Professor of American History in Marietta College. [Marietta College Historical Collections, vol. I., Ohio Company Series, vol. I.] (Marietta, Ohio: Marietta Historical Commission. 1917. Pp. cxxxvii, 132. \$2.50.)

THIS is the first of a series of volumes which will contain original records, letters, etc., illustrating the settlement and development of southeastern Ohio. There is a long introduction by the editor treating of the origin of the Ohio Company, the part taken in its formation by Rufus Putnam, Manasseh Cutler, and other leaders, the relation between the Ohio and Scioto companies, and a summary of the land, financial, and "paternalistic" policies of the company.

The text of the records covers the period from 1786 to December 21, 1789, and shows, in part, why New England influences were so important in this section. The provisions for "compact settlement" (pp. 45, 52), the grants of land for grist-mills, windmills, etc. (pp. 66, 87, 95, 113), the articles for settlers to sign (pp. 76-77), the methods of dividing lands among the proprietors (pp. 19, 81, 97, 123-125), and the efforts made to promote schools and education (pp. 39-40), all remind one of New England ideals and methods. These records vividly illustrate the capitalistic as contrasted with the individualistic method of promoting the settlement and development of a new region. The latter was based on the natural instinct of individuals to migrate to the frontier to improve their economic status or to escape from an environ-

ment unsatisfactory for other reasons. The other was a capitalistic enterprise, conceived by the men of wealth and education who organized a company, obtained a large tract of land by grant or purchase, planned the details of settlement, allotted or sold lands to the actual settlers, provided for their protection and helped to promote their religious, social, economic, or political development. Their reward came in the profits of the enterprise, in money or land, the power to direct the nature of the settlement and to act as officials in the actual government of the community. For example, the leading stockholders of the Ohio Company were also the first officers appointed for the government of the Northwest Territory. Governor Arthur St. Clair, Secretary Winthrop Sargent, and Judges Parsons and Varnum were shareholders. The two last, with Putnam, were the directors of the company. Sargent was the first secretary of the company, as well as the first secretary of the Northwest Territory.

Professor Hulbert makes a vigorous and unqualified defense of Manasseh Cutler in his dealings with the Scioto group of speculators. He aims "to repudiate sternly such lurking human-like insinuations as have been made now and then that Dr. Cutler overstepped the ethical boundary lines in his work for the Ohio Company" (p. 55). Lack of direct evidence to the contrary favors this conclusion. However, the indirect evidence still raises the question whether Cutler squared his ethics with those of the group he was seeking favors from (p. 73); or whether he was lacking in the astuteness needed to fathom the character and motives of these men, a supposition not quite in harmony with the sketch given of his character (p. 58). Elsewhere Professor Hulbert speaks of the "credulity of the Ohio Company's agents" (p. 88) and explains Cutler's connection and dealings with this notorious group on the ground that he was in complete ignorance of their real motives and character (pp. 58, 72-77).

The introduction as a whole is exceedingly well written, and for the first time adequately presents the story of the founding of the company and its influence. The form, appearance, and editing of the book are excellent. Historical students are fortunate in being assured that the editorship of this series is in such competent hands, and we shall look forward eagerly to the completion of a series that will contain one of the most important collections of sources for the study of this section of the West.

MARCUS W. JERNEGAN.

A History of the United States. By EDWARD CHANNING. Volume IV. *Federalists and Republicans, 1789-1815.* (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1917. Pp. vii, 575. \$2.75.)

PROFESSOR CHANNING'S fourth volume deals with the history of the United States between the years 1789 and 1815. It has not quite as many words as the two and two-thirds volumes allotted to the same

period in Professor Hart's *American Nation*. But the author has used his space with a great deal of care, and by contracting at some places at which other writers have given more attention to details he has been able to give excellent accounts of incidents that were formerly treated with less than the necessary fullness. The readjustment of emphasis will probably disappoint some readers accustomed to the older distribution, but it has much to recommend it, if the author's point of view is considered. The discriminating reader will also note the success with which Professor Channing solves his problem of writing a new book which is not merely a re-statement of what he wrote in the twelfth volume of the *American Nation*. The space assigned to the years between 1800 and 1812 is nearly the same in each volume, yet each has maintained its individuality.

The success with which this is achieved is due to the extremely original treatment of the facts in the volume now before us. By a large use of sources and recent monographic publications the author's original mind has been able to present a new narrative at a great many points. The result is that we have a body of history unlike that of Hildreth in its statements, and in spirit, at least, different from the writings of Henry Adams. Hardly an important episode has been left just as it was before; and all has been done with such directness and evident fairness that it carries conviction to the reader. It does not seem extravagant to say that for the period with which this volume deals Professor Channing must be regarded as having set a new light in the historical heavens in the United States which none of his successors will ignore. If critics find flaws in his treatment they will probably find small ones, and they will have to fight hard for their contentions.

The most important general feature of the volume is that the author irons out the New England crimps that have long been noted in the history of this period. He does it most deftly and without letting us see that he thinks it should have been done long ago. By a fresh examination of documents, with his mind divested of the ideas that he got from the older books, he composes his own narrative in which appears no sectional bias of either conscious or unconscious origin. He gives us ample evidence that he appreciates the point of view of every section of the country and all classes of society. There is no intolerance for New England, nor for Virginia, and the feelings of the men of the frontier are given full consideration. These are things that have long waited the doing and he who has done them should have the thanks of the country. Some of the incidents in which this new treatment is evident are here given, taken at random from a long list that was made during the reading of the volume.

For example, we learn that it was the King of Spain himself who ordered Morales, the Spanish intendant at New Orleans, to suspend the right of deposit in 1802. Moreover, Morales was directed to excuse

himself for his action by saying that he interpreted the treaty of 1795 as granting the right for only three years. He was cautioned that he should not let it be known that he really acted by royal orders (p. 326). The incident created great concern in the West and the Federalists promptly seized on it to embarrass the administration. Their best success at winning popularity was achieved in the French affair in 1798, and they saw in the situation of 1802 an opportunity to repeat the process, wrenching from Republican allegiance the passionate men of the frontier. The way in which we are here shown the working of party motives behind the political scenes is characteristic of the treatment generally.

Of interest, also, is the information that Commodore Preble suggested to Jefferson to send gunboats for use in the Tripolitan harbors. The boats were built and sent to the Mediterranean, where they did good service and won the praise of British naval officers who saw them. When Jefferson took up the question of harbor defense at home he was appalled at the cost of erecting forts at all the needed places. It was a greater expense than a new and only partially settled government could endure. He turned to gunboat defense as a less expensive substitute. In doing so he had the approval of Commodore Barron and Captain Tingey, as well as of Preble, naval officers of high rank. In the face of facts like these the scorn that the historian has poured on Jefferson's gunboat policy must be abated (p. 270).

Professor Channing has an open hand for John Adams, who suffered largely from the historians of his time. He finds much to approve in Adams's proposition to send Jefferson to France when it was known that Pinckney would not be received by the Directory. Jefferson was popular in France and he was patriotic. Adams's idea of creating a non-partizan administration was good, and in the unformed state of parties then existing it was not fanciful. If these two men, leaders of the two new parties, could have come into co-operation at the time, the history of the succeeding years of perplexity might have been much altered (p. 181). But it is difficult to think that Jefferson would have worked with Adams more successfully than another; for John Adams was a man who did his own planning and he would not have followed the lead of any man.

Again, it is refreshing to read in connection with the X Y Z affair that "the commissioners did not abhor the thought of buying the Directors and Talleyrand any more than Pitt and King George had done; but they refused point blank to involve the United States in any breach of neutrality which would be the necessary outcome of a loan to France" (p. 187). This new dress alters materially the figure of an old tale that has long been cherished as an illustration of our peculiar type of political virtue. Of equal interest is the fact that the Nootka Sound incident is given the treatment which its importance in the history of the Pacific Coast demands.

While one cannot say that these new points should have been omitted, he will at least regret that it was necessary to shorten the account of some of the old features of the story. The Whiskey Insurrection is brought down into such narrow compass that it is impossible to explain its importance in the political life of the day. The Hartford Convention is disposed of in six pages, which seems to the reviewer insufficient for the discussion of an incident that brought into strong relief the most penetrating political and sectional division of the people of the time. Burr's intrigues in the Southwest are similarly shortened, but in that case the curtailment seems well done; for Burr's conduct was not as important as the consideration it has received would warrant. He was an ex-vice-president and his position enhanced the significance of his deeds in the minds of the historians.

New as is his presentation, it is as an old-style historian that we must rank Professor Channing. For him the political thread is the clue to follow. He gives the first chapter in the volume to social conditions, and thereafter he goes on from one political event to another. It is probable that his interest in social history is not expressed in this treatment; for the period under consideration is singularly knit together. One event follows another so rapidly that there is no good place for interjecting descriptions of manners of living and conditions of transportation. In previous volumes the author has shown appreciation for such treatment; but he has never been disposed to accept the demands of those who see all history as economic and social. He seems to realize that he writes for an audience of readers of general intelligence and interest. The central fact in his narrative is the conscious life of the nation as expressed in its organic will, the government at the capital. What was done here and who did it and why, and what it signified, are all ever-present facts in this book, and it is not too much to predict that they will find hearty appreciation from the public.

The author's style is very direct and simple. There is a wholesome absence of the terminology of the *seminar*, that weight dragging to oblivion many an otherwise excellent book on history. In the arrangement of matter he encounters a problem that puzzles all who try to write our national history. It is very difficult to gather in a logical way the events that rise to importance in political life. He has the easiest task who sticks to the chronological way, as Hildreth, and somewhat harder but not very greatly so, who goes at it by administrations. Hardest of all is the attempt to make a logical arrangement, which must cut across administrations. Of the third method, which Professor Channing largely employs, it is to be said that he has used it successfully, although there are drawbacks in the method—interferences with the reader's power of giving attention—that no one can overcome. Mention must be made, also, of his excellent use of foot-notes. He makes them illuminate the text without the suggestion of pedantry, and any young writer of history may well study the art with which it is done.

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT.

Thomas Jefferson, Architect. Original Designs in the Collection of Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, junior, with an Essay and Notes by FISKE KIMBALL. (Boston: Privately printed. 1916. Pp. vii, 205, plates ix.)

THE late Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, jr., of Boston, widely known both as an architect and as a collector of papers relating to his great-great-grandfather, the third president of the United States, left at his death the richest collection of drawings and documents pertaining to Jefferson's architectural activities to be found in the United States. The drawings and notes relating to them, 232 pieces in all, Mrs. Clara A. Coolidge has caused to be published, with accompanying descriptive list and historical essay, in a sumptuous folio volume of over 250 pages, "for private distribution". In so doing she has rendered most generously a great service to architecture in America and to students of the early culture of the republic, as well as to the reputation of the distinguished and versatile Virginian.

The historical essay by Professor Fiske Kimball of the School of Architecture of Michigan University is preceded by a brief but illuminating essay on the history of the Jefferson Papers by Worthington C. Ford. Thanks to Jefferson's methodical habits and the zeal of his descendants, an extraordinary quantity of these papers have been preserved in spite of many vicissitudes, and it is most fortunate that among those descendants an architect should have been found who could appreciate the inestimable value to American history of hundreds of unsigned sketches, memoranda, and casual scraps left by his great ancestor, but for nearly a century neglected, overlooked, or misesteemed. Mr. Ford's essay establishes the pedigree of these papers as having come from Jefferson. But even with their provenience thus established their authorship remained unproved until Professor Kimball, by processes of inductive reasoning skillfully applied, based upon a minute examination of every scrap of evidence in the papers themselves, in the voluminous correspondence of Jefferson in this and other collections, and a comparison of sketches and memoranda with the buildings designed by Jefferson, verified by official documents, was able to demonstrate the Jeffersonian authorship of most of the papers and to exclude such as had come from other sources. His close study of the papers appears in the descriptive schedule, which occupies 101 pages. Material, water-marks, section-lining, subject, handwriting, and probable date are all set forth with minute exactness. The essay discusses Jefferson's development as an architect, the conditions of architecture in his day, the respective Palladian and French influences in his work, his place as the first American apostle of the classical revival, the architectural books in his library, and his methods of work, and establishes beyond serious question his right to be called an architect. He was no mere gentleman amateur or architectural dilettante, entrusting to others, better trained profession-

ally, the revision and execution of his designs, but a competent and scholarly designer, who figured and specified in detail his quantities and materials and made all his own drawings, from preliminary sketches to large-scale details. Monticello, the University of Virginia, and the state capitol at Richmond were his principal works (though the last two have undergone extensive alterations) but he had a hand in many other buildings, and he exercised a preponderant influence on the early architecture of the national capital.

Mr. Kimball had already, before undertaking this task, devoted much study to Jefferson's life and works, and in two important brochures had met and satisfactorily answered the contentions of Mr. Norman Isham, Mr. Glenn Brown, and others, attacking the Jeffersonian authorship of many of the drawings attributed to him. The outcome of these controversies has been wholly favorable to Mr. Kimball's claims for Jefferson. This stately volume is the final and brilliant fruitage of these labors, and will doubtless long remain a standard authority on its subject.

A. D. F. HAMLIN.

Breaches of Anglo-American Treaties: a Study in History and Diplomacy. By JOHN BIGELOW, Major U. S. A., retired. (New York: Sturgis and Walton Company. 1917. Pp. xi, 248. \$1.50.)

THE preface to this volume is dated at New York, January 23, 1917. It therefore antedates not only the present war between the United States and Germany but also the rupture of their diplomatic relations; and the body of the text must have been written long before. A perusal of the work indeed fully confirms the accuracy of the statement that it "was not written to form or influence public opinion as to any phase or feature of the present world war". On the contrary, the author's main purpose seems to have been to investigate the foundations of charges of bad faith made in England against the United States, within the past five years, in terms which seemed to him possibly to savor of exaggeration. In particular he mentions the assertion of the *Saturday Review* that "American politicians" would not be "bound by any feeling of honor or respect for treaties if it would pay to violate them", and that it was too much to expect "to find President Taft acting like a gentleman"; the intimation of the *Morning Post* that Americans are disposed "to lower the value of their written word in such a way as to make negotiations with other powers difficult or impossible"; and the statement of Sir Harry Johnston that treaties with the United States are "not really worth the labor their negotiation entails or the paper they are written on". These polite admonitions seem not so much to have annoyed the author as to have piqued his curiosity, impelling him dutifully to make the more or less detailed studies the results of which, as he sums them up, are not unfavorable to his own country.

The investigation begins with the controversies relating to the exe-

cution of the treaty of peace of 1782-1783. The author finds that there were violations on both sides, but the principal breach he conceives to be the refusal of Great Britain to withdraw her forces from the United States. The reason assigned for this refusal was the failure of the United States to make immediately effective, as to private debts due to British merchants, the stipulation that creditors on either side should meet "with no lawful impediment" to the recovery of debts previously contracted. But, as the treaty contained no provision for the holding of territory as a guaranty for the performance of its stipulations, the author accepts as well founded Franklin's opinion that the evacuation was in reality delayed in the hope that some change in the European situation or some "disunion" among the late colonies might afford an opportunity for recovering dominion over them and securing their future dependence.

An examination of the disputes arising out of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty occupies nearly two-thirds of the volume. In this way their relative importance is perhaps unduly enhanced. The author affirms that Clayton was "willing to accept war" if this were necessary to secure an interoceanic railway or canal, although he would not go so far to secure "a purely American one". Probably it would have been more nearly correct to say that Clayton would have accepted war to prevent the construction of a canal under exclusive British control. It may be doubted that an American Secretary of State would then have been permitted to hold any other position. Of Clayton's desire to avoid a rupture there is abundant proof. The very fact that he was willing to sign a treaty by which the so-called Mosquito protectorate was permitted to stand even as (to use his own phrase) a "nominis umbra", sufficiently attests his anxiety for a friendly arrangement. In this relation the author scarcely grasps the importance of the incident of the bombardment of Greytown, which he says "left the general situation unchanged". In truth, although the instructions given to Captain Hollins did not specify the measures by which he was to obtain redress, and although the report of his summary and somewhat ruthless course came more or less as a surprise, there can be no doubt as to what the entire proceeding signified in the mind of Pierce's steady and sagacious Secretary of State, from the moment when it was determined to deal directly with the Greytown authorities down to the prompt assumption of full responsibility for what Hollins did. The incident probably did more than anything else to bring about the treaty of Managua of 1860.

As so much space is given to the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, it would have been appropriate if the author had also examined the canal tolls question under the terms of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, especially as the imputations that prompted his investigations were inspired by that controversy. He correctly states that, although the question has been temporarily disposed of, it has not been settled in principle. In these circumstances an examination of its merits would not have been out of

place, and might have served to remove superficial impressions which have widely prevailed.

The author, in his consideration of treaty-making, adverts to the supposition that negotiators have often used obscure or dubious phrases in order to create a basis for future claims. To some extent that device has no doubt been employed; but it has not been practised so extensively as negotiators would have us believe. The imputation is flattering to vanity. But obscurity or dubiety often result much more from anxiety to reach an amicable agreement than from a conscious effort to over-reach an opponent. This appears to have been the case with the Oregon Treaty and the resulting San Juan water boundary dispute, with which the author has not dealt, as well as with certain clauses in the treaty of Washington of 1871.

J. B. MOORE.

The Life of James J. Hill. By JOSEPH GILPIN PYLE (authorized).

In two volumes. (Garden City: Doubleday, Page, and Company. 1917. Pp. ix, 498; vii, 459. \$5.00.)

THE four outstanding names in the history of transportation beyond St. Paul—Jay Cooke, Henry Villard, Donald A. Smith (Lord Strathcona), and James J. Hill—have now received biographical treatment, so that it is easily possible to fill out many gaps in the story sketched long since by Eugene V. Smalley and more recently by Balthasar H. Meyer. Three of these men were shaped through the direct pressure of the frontier. The fourth, Villard, exhibited the soul of the pioneer in the body of the German immigrant. All applied the vision that the frontier begot in them to the development of an empire whose unity and fertility one dreamer, Asa Whitney, had glimpsed as early as 1845; and another, Gen. Isaac I. Stevens, had mapped in 1853. Their combined story, from Jay Cooke's underwriting of the Northern Pacific stocks in 1869 to the dissolution of the Northern Securities Company in 1904, covers a generation whose interest to the economic historian cannot be surpassed.

Of the four, only James J. Hill, whose authorized biography is now at hand, was a railroad man. The others came to the work partly by accident, as speculator or broker or political promoter. But Hill was of the Northwest by adoption. Before he was twenty years old he had proved himself true to the frontier type by shifting from his old home in Ontario to St. Paul. Why his biographer should say that life on the frontier "was quiet, ruminant, without initiative" (I. 8), in the face of the abundant evidence that he gives to prove the opposite, is something of a mystery. But Mr. Pyle is clearly not a professional historian, and this slip, like others, which are frequent where he discusses matters not a part of the financial aspect of his subject, need not deter his reader. The life in St. Paul, the early business, the beginnings of ventures in transport by wagon, boat, and rail, and at last the details of the St. Paul and Pacific, the St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Manitoba, and

the Great Northern, flow along through the two volumes with coherence and accuracy. Without displaying many of them, Mr. Pyle has had access to the letters and diaries of Mr. Hill, and has freely used autobiographic dictations. Only Dr. Oberholtzer's *Jay Cooke* gives financial history for the railroads with equal detail and accuracy. Mr. Willson's *Lord Strathcona* is distinctly surpassed in this respect by both of these.

The point of view of Mr. Pyle is disappointing. He prints, as his sailing chart, Mr. Hill's instruction to him to "Make it plain and simple and true" (vol. I., introd., p. v). He adds to this a determination to reveal Mr. Hill's mental, moral, and financial greatness. Instead of allowing his evidence to tell its own story, he lays down *dicta*. In twenty pages, chosen at random (II. 161-180), he adds unnecessary asseveration or praise to at least ten points. He fails to show adequately the opinions illustrated by the fragment which he gives from a letter of 1902: "It really seems hard . . . that we should be compelled to fight for our lives against the political adventurers who have never done anything but pose and draw a salary" (II. 172). Historically, we are more interested in what Mr. Hill did and thought than whether it was good or bad. We shall not be able to establish a sound basis for judging acts of the last half-century until we have seen the genuine opinions of honest men. And we are unable to take much interest in Mr. Pyle's effort to portray "a difference between him [Mr. Hill] and the rank and file of the extremely rich" (I. 291). Yet with all its shortcomings the book is a reliable and useful addition to our knowledge, and prepares the way for somebody's lives of E. H. Harriman and J. P. Morgan.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

The Former Philippines thru Foreign Eyes. Edited by AUSTIN CRAIG. (New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1917. Pp. [xiv], 552. \$3.00.)

THE editor of this useful book, easily the most original American in the Philippines, served his apprenticeship in the United States along the Northwest Coast, as lawyer, newspaper man, and teacher. In the Philippines he has been a teacher in the public schools and an official of the central Bureau of Education, and is now in charge of the historical work in the government institution, the University of the Philippines, where he has done more than any other man to stimulate the study of Philippine history among Filipino young men and women. His book was first published in Manila in 1916 under semi-government auspices for the sole use of the public schools of the Philippines, and has had a wide use. In the American edition, the same or duplicate plates have been used, but the book has been given a much more attractive appearance with its better-grade paper and binding, and the stamp of the official Philippine coat-of-arms on the outside of the front cover. The book is a compilation and, in part, a translation, of eight more or less extensive descriptions of the Philippines and their peoples by non-

Filipino authors, namely, two by Germans, one by a Spaniard, two by Americans, and three by Englishmen. The short preface is followed by an index of eight pages, in which only the most important data are noted, and which by its position constitutes a sin against the accepted canons of good book-making, although it is as accessible as if placed in the usual manner. All items after the first are in smaller type than the main item, and all after the second are set solid—parts of the mechanical process that would have appeared more logical had everything after the first item been included in an appendix. The book consists of the following items: *Travels in the Philippines*, an English translation of Feodor Jagor's *Reisen in den Philippinen* (Berlin, 1873); *State of the Philippines in 1810*, an English translation of Tomás de Comyn's *Estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1810* (Madrid, 1820); "Manila and Sulu in 1842", an excerpt from chapters 8 and 9 of volume V. of Commodore Charles Wilkes's well-known *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842* (Philadelphia, 1844); "Manila in 1819", an excerpt from Lieut. John White, U.S.N., *History of a Voyage to the China Sea* (Boston, 1823); "The Peopling of the Philippines", from the *Smithsonian Report* for 1899 (Washington, 1901), a translation by O. T. Mason of Rudolf Virchow's *Die Bevölkerung der Philippinen* (Berlin, 1899); and three very short excerpts by an English merchant in 1778, the British consul in 1878, and an English merchant about 1890. Taken together, these descriptions form an exceedingly valuable lot of material regarding the Philippines and have the added value of having been made at different periods. Of them all, the first is the most valuable, because of the intimate touch it gives of conditions and its excellent descriptions. It will be remembered as containing near the end the remarkable prophecy of the American occupation of the Philippines. The translation, which was made especially for this work by a young German, one of the victims of the Japanese onslaught on Tsing Tau, is immensely improved over the defective English translation published in London in 1875. It is complete except for the crude drawings of the original German edition, and one or two passages which had little bearing on the Philippines, as well as several of the appendixes of the original—omissions that will be regarded as defects by some. The book might have been made more attractive by including the illustrations of the original or some of the many excellent modern photographs that can be easily obtained, and which would illustrate Jagor's narrative as well in most instances as his own drawings. Comyn's narrative is especially valuable for its social and economic data, this, indeed, being one of the most valuable Spanish contributions of the nineteenth century to the history of the Philippines, and meeting on its publication with scant welcome from the official class. Professor Craig has approached his task more from the angle of the reformer and lawyer, than from that of the historian, as is seen in the opening sentence of his preface: "Among the many wrongs done

the Filipinos by Spaniards, to be charged against their undeniably large debt to Spain, one of the greatest, if not the most frequently mentioned, was taking from them their name." By choosing descriptions on the whole favorable to the Filipinos, Professor Craig has presented but one side of his thesis, although it must be confessed material on the other side is easily available to whoever wishes to study the question from other points of view. More detailed bibliographical data would have enhanced the value of the volume, but it must be borne in mind that the compilation was made for a wide circle and not for any special student body. The work has been done with enthusiasm and with the manifest purpose of inciting ideals through greater race-inspection. There is no doubt that this volume will have considerable influence in the Philippine Islands among all classes, and it should be given a wide and careful reading in America as well, for notwithstanding the almost two decades of American occupation, the Philippines are yet a sealed book to many Americans.

JAMES A. ROBERTSON.

José de Gálvez, Visitor-General of New Spain (1765-1771). By HERBERT INGRAM PRIESTLEY. [University of California Publications in History, vol. V.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1916. Pp. xiv, 449. \$3.00.)

THIS volume is the work of one of the younger men of the California group of historians who are devoting their energy to the study of Spanish colonization. It is a worthy addition to the list of studies published by the University of California. In distinction from most of the monographs, which treat largely of local matters, this work deals with the larger field of Spanish colonial history, confining itself to the study of some phases of the institution of visitor-general within the viceroyalty of New Spain during the eighteenth century. The author has made ample use of new sources from the archives of Spain and Mexico and, in addition, has made available in English much material already published in Spanish.

From the title and subtitle one would expect either a biography or an institutional study. Neither expectation is completely fulfilled, and considerable material, not strictly within the scope of either, finds place in the volume.

The book falls naturally into three parts. The first, comprising the introduction and chapters I.-III., forms the introductory section of the work. The introduction gives a brief biography of Gálvez, with some reference to his family. This is the most complete and most authentic account of the life of Gálvez, written in any language. Chapter I. is devoted to a résumé of conditions in Spain and of her colonial policy, with special emphasis upon commerce. A general survey of the administration of New Spain is presented in chapter II. The third chapter

gives a summary account of the general visitation, being chiefly an historical survey.

The second part of the book, or the body (chapters IV.-IX.), relates in great detail the activities of Gálvez, while he was in New Spain as visitor-general. From documents cited in the appendix it is clear that Gálvez was commissioned to investigate the affairs of the judicial and treasury (hacienda) departments of New Spain and possessed extensive powers for carrying out his task. Despite this twofold commission the author holds that the later efficiency of Gálvez was due to his experience in the affairs of public finance. Consequently, without explaining further why all reference to judicial matters is omitted, he places all emphasis upon the financial administration of New Spain. The subjects treated in this section include an account of the tobacco monopoly, details of the conflict of Gálvez and Viceroy Cruillas over the extent of their respective authorities, the activities of Gálvez in connection with the expulsion of the Jesuits, and his work on the peninsula of Lower California, carried out with a view to advancing the settlements of that region.

The final part comprises the last chapter (X.) and is a lengthy summary of Spanish colonial revenues, condensed from the works of Maniau (*Compendio de la Historia de la Real Hacienda de Nueva España*) and Fonseca and Urrutia (*Historia General de Real Hacienda*). It is the most complete statement in English upon the subject and as such possesses admirable merit.

The appendix contains careful translations of the instructions to Gálvez and other documents relating to the subject. There is a bibliography, which includes a complete list of the manuscript sources and a select list of the printed authorities which were used in the preparation of the work. The volume shows a vast amount of painstaking labor and is readable and interesting throughout. It is a valuable contribution to the study of Spanish colonial institutions.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

British Exploits in South America: a History of British Activities in Exploration, Military Adventure, Diplomacy, Science, and Trade in Latin-America. By W. H. KOEBEL. (New York: The Century Company. 1917. Pp. xiv, 587. \$4.00.)

FOR the most part the present work is a compilation of extracts culled from contemporary accounts by British writers and pieced together into a somewhat disjointed narrative. So much is the author under the spell of the ancient chroniclers that he has even prefaced each chapter with a tediously long analysis of its contents. Like all of Mr. Koebel's books on South America, the volume is intended for the general reader who seeks entertainment as well as instruction. Of the four parts into which it is divided the first covers the period up to the eighteenth century, including the story of the first English mariners to

"sail the Spanish Main(!)". The second describes the activities of the British up to the close of the Hispanic-American wars of independence. In the third the tale is continued from that point onward through most—and not the "early part"—of the nineteenth century, with especial reference to Brazil. The fourth, entitled "Scientific and Literary Observers", discusses British Naturalists, South America in English Print, other British "achievements", and To-day and To-morrow in South America. At the close are an appendix which, though entered as a separate item in the table of contents, is really a bibliography of books on South America published since 1870, and a list of "British arrivals in the River Plate at the beginning of the nineteenth century". The book, also, is provided with illustrations more or less apt in reference and plan of insertion.

The chapter on "South America in English Print" is a running commentary on many of the books put forth in that language up to about 1870. From the list the volumes published by the Hakluyt Society are omitted intentionally; but why they should have been included in the bibliography of works issued since that date is not clear. The latter, certainly, is not characterized by either accuracy or exhaustiveness, and lacks any sort of evaluation. That the works by Dawson and Scruggs should be mentioned twice, that Bourne's treatise, along with numerous others of merit, is ignored, that the authorship of Helps's volumes is ascribed to Oppenheim, and that a reprint of Humboldt's account should be put down as a recent contribution, are defects not remedied by the inclusion of substantially all of Mr. Koebel's own books. The chapter on To-day and To-morrow in South America is given over to a sketch of certain reasons for the decline of British trade. As might be expected under present circumstances, it displays a marked animus against the German competitor; but that is hardly a good excuse for converting the old Augsburgers into "Prussian" Welsers (p. 530).

Were Mr. Koebel as familiar with the Spanish language and records as he is with those he actually uses, he would not have allowed so many errors and omissions to mar his pages. That he calls the attention of the reader to the fact that a "total lack of haste in its preparation" (p. vii) is one of the merits of the book, makes the blemishes all the worse. To single out one or two of them: Rio de Janeiro could hardly have been "discovered" at any time (p. 12); the Inquisition surely did not "set out across the ocean" in 1533 (p. 19); the derivation of "gringo" (p. 253) is neither novel nor accurate; and "bucaneers", "Guazus", "Inglez", "Inglessa" need some rectification in spelling. Anyone at all acquainted, also, with the story of British "achievements" in Spanish America during the eighteenth century might have expected to find an allusion at least to smuggling operations at Porto Bello and to the "exploits" of the *Royal George*.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

The Literary History of Spanish America. By ALFRED COESTER, Ph.D. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1916. Pp. xii, 495. \$2.50.)

THIS is a work of great industry. No other book in English even attempts to cover the whole field with such minute and painstaking detail. Going to original sources, and having had access to the most ample collections of material, Dr. Coester traces the literary development of each South and Central American republic, including Mexico but excluding Brazil. The task of merely reading through the copious output in belles-lettres of the Spanish-American press for more than two hundred years must have been brain-fagging. Such a mass of analyzed volumes, country by country, cannot be exhilarating reading, but it is highly informing. One pays tribute to the author's labor, and also to his scholarship. In his printing of Spanish names and quotations, he is singularly accurate, only a negligible number of trifling errors having fallen under the reviewer's eye.

Dr. Coester has three introductory and general chapters, but is stronger in his intrepid facing of the jungle of writers and works, nation after nation, than in his philosophy of the whole. He is, of course, aware of the mingling streams—Spanish and French—of literary tradition and formative impulse in South America, but does not clearly show which at any given time was the more powerful, nor give the reason for it. To do so would require, confessedly, a study of the reaction in literature which Spain has had upon France, and the reverse—itself a complex and controverted topic. But it would seem that Dr. Coester might have made it plainer that, at least for the past seventy-five years or so, Spain has been more an historical memory to educated South Americans, and France more a literary metropolis and inspiration. It is probable that for every Argentine or Chilean who has gone to Madrid for professional study or for pleasure, ten have gone to Paris. Such relationships, long continued, could not fail to make French literary fashions as much the mode in large parts of South America as French styles in gowns and hats.

It would be impossible, even if there were space, to follow Dr. Coester, with unequal steps, along the arduous path of his researches. The peculiar debt we owe him is the introducing Americans to an intellectual world of which almost all of them are profoundly ignorant. That the South Americans had universities, presses, poets, critics, before the United States had made more than its literary beginnings, is a fact which we all have known, vaguely, but with nothing like the vividness which the pages of this book convey. It may be that, in the course of his long poring over South American writers, and his epitomes of their books, Dr. Coester sometimes loses his sense of proportion; is betrayed into calling a poet great because his admiring fellow-countrymen did so. But as a whole he keeps his head and his poise. The immense productiveness of the Spanish-American literary genius—in this like its

Spanish prototype—necessarily makes the quantity often obscure the quality. Nature and the struggle for liberty have been the favorite themes of South American poets, and it is well known that the former is exuberant and the latter boundless; the result is a mighty flood of poetry. Before it, however, Dr. Coester keeps his bearings well. He has distinctly made a contribution to the literature of knowledge, if not to the books of power.

MINOR NOTICES

Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1914. Volume I. (Washington, the Government Printing Office, 1916, pp. 504.) From the proceedings of the meeting of the Association held at Chicago fourteen informative papers have been printed in this volume, a better representation of those presented at the sessions than has sometimes been the case. Those dealing with European history, a much larger proportion than usual by the way, are: *Fresh Light upon the History of the Earliest Assyrian Period*, by R. W. Rogers; *the Eastern Mediterranean and Early Civilization in Europe*, by J. H. Breasted; *a Political Ideal of the Emperor Hadrian*, by W. D. Gray; *the Influence of the Rise of the Ottoman Turks upon the Routes of Oriental Trade*, by A. H. Lybyer; *Some Influences of Oriental Environment in the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, by Frederic Duncalf; *the Feudal Noble and the Church as reflected in the Poems of Chrestien de Troyes*, by E. H. McNeal; *the Turco-Venetian Treaty of 1540*, by T. F. Jones; *the House of Commons and Disputed Elections*, by H. R. Shipman; *Tendencies and Opportunities in Napoleonic Studies*, by G. M. Dutcher; *an Approach to the Study of Napoleon's Generalship*, by R. M. Johnston.

In the field of American history the subjects treated are: *Cabinet Meetings under President Polk*, by H. B. Learned; *Tennessee and National Political Parties, 1850-1860*, by St. George L. Sioussat; *the Genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska Act*, by P. O. Ray; *Asiatic Trade and the American Occupation of the Pacific Coast*, by R. G. Cleland. Accompanying the proceedings of the eleventh annual conference of historical societies are papers on the Chicago Historical Society, by O. L. Schmidt; *Research in State History at State Universities*, by James A. Woodburn; and *Restrictions on the Use of Historical Materials*, by L. J. Burpee. In addition to the report of the proceedings of the sixth annual conference of archivists, President C. H. Rammelkamp presents a paper on *Legislation for Archivists*, and Miss Ethel B. Virtue on *Principles of Classification for Archives*; and there is a preliminary survey of the archives of Minnesota by H. A. Kellar.

Four Lectures on the Handling of Historical Material. By L. F. Rushbrook Williams, B.A., B.Litt., F.R.Hist.S., M.R.A.S., Professor of Modern Indian History in the University of Allahabad. [Publications of the Department of Modern Indian History, Allahabad Univer-

sity, no. 1.] (London and New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1917, pp. x, 86, \$1.00.) These lectures were published

in accordance with a condition of the tenure of the Chair of Modern Indian History in Allahabad University. They were written for audiences consisting partly of Indian students, and partly of the general public. The first three Lectures were intended to give such audiences some insight into the methods of modern historical investigation. The fourth Lecture is an attempt to apply to the solution of a particular problem the theory underlying these methods (Foreword).

It is patent that the author is concerned rather with the impression his special audience was to receive than with the adequacy of his lectures as an examination of the problems of historical method.

A consideration of the lectures in the light of the needs of the given audience suggests a few criticisms. The author's predilection for political history and official documents may be explained in part by the nature of "the material with which the student of Indian history is called upon to deal" (p. 81), but the omission, from his list of non-official sources, of newspapers and of literature, which is essential for the inner, "spiritual" history of a people, is to be regretted. The difficulties of the historian in controlling his bias and in marshalling his evidence (lecture III.) ought not to have been expounded without a setting forth of the scientific method of determining particular facts, so well known to students of Langlois and Seignobos. Lecture IV., judging by the foreword, should have been the *pièce de résistance* of the course, but it is an examination of "the relation between the influence of personality and the influence of such non-personal forces as heredity and environment, over the course taken by the world's history" (p. 72). Certainly this is a problem in which the detailed exposition of the uses and defects of the different sorts of written documents, which is the main purpose of most of the book, is of little service.

The foot-notes lack date and place of publication and usually the full name of the author. Lecture III. warns against incomplete references and improperly charges German scholars with making them (p. 67).

G. C. SELLERY.

The Drama of Savage Peoples. By Loomis Havemeyer, Ph.D., Instructor of Anthropology and Geography in the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale University. (New Haven, Yale University Press; London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1916, pp. viii, 274, \$1.75.) This book will be welcomed by anthropologists and historians as one more attempt to discover the beginnings of an important social institution. It will be welcomed, in spite of the fact that it is only a sketch, the outlines of which the writer apparently intends to fill in at some future time. Dr. Havemeyer is scarcely correct in declaring that the investigation of the drama of savage peoples is a "new enterprise". His bibliography does not contain such important references as Mrs. Murray-Aynsley's article on "Secular and Religious Dances" (*Folklore Journal*, 1887), Mackenzie's chapters on "Dance and Drama" in his

Evolution of Literature, and Wundt's elaborate treatment of the whole subject in his *Völkerpsychologie*. The articles under "Drama" in Hastings's *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* have not been used. Furthermore, Ridgeway's learned and thought-provoking work, *The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Peoples* (Cambridge, 1915), appears to be unknown to Dr. Havemeyer, though he quotes Ridgeway's earlier book, *The Origin of Tragedy*. In view of these and other omissions, Dr. Havemeyer might have done better if he had selected some ethnographical division of the subject, such as the Polynesian drama or that of the American Indians, and had treated it exhaustively in the light of his evolutionary principles.

With these principles, however, the reviewer finds himself in entire accord. Having shown that there are practically no peoples so low in the cultural scale as to lack some form of the drama, Dr. Havemeyer then proceeds to trace three stages in its development. The drama begins as a form of language. Its purpose at first is to afford information and give expression to ideas for which speech is inadequate. In the magico-religious stage dramatic representations are employed for the purpose of multiplying plants and food animals (for instance, the Central Australian totemic ceremonies) or for communicating with supernatural beings. The final stage is reached when the magico-religious element disappears, and the drama becomes purely a form of amusement.

To the savage this latter stage is of the least importance, for nothing very definite is accomplished by it, but to the civilized man it forms the greatest height to which the drama has yet reached. In these pleasure plays of the savage we are able to get the closest connection between the drama of a low and that of a high civilization (p. 235).

The value of the book is increased by the parallels and contrasts drawn between savage drama and the drama in Japan, Java, ancient Greece, and the Middle Ages. Dr. Havemeyer might with profit have devoted even more space to this comparative survey.

HUTTON WEBSTER.

Gaius Verres: an Historical Study. By Frank Hewitt Cowles. [Cornell Studies in Classical Philology, edited by Charles Edwin Bennett and George Prentice Bristol, no. XX.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, for Cornell University, 1917, pp. 207, \$1.50.) This unpretending monograph is a real contribution to our understanding of the later Roman Republic. It undertakes to analyze and to present (to quote its preface) "in complete form, the sum total of the evidence covered by the Verrine indictment", and the author is justified in his claim that hitherto no such analysis has been available.

Gaius Verres has been long a stock figure for a gross Roman corruptionist and oppressor, just as the name of Boss Tweed is usually invoked when a standardized political malefactor must be held up for more modern reprobation. But very few even among Latin specialists read through the complete Verrine orations, which Cicero published as

a rhetorical exercise after the trial and conviction of the outrageous *propraetor*; and to most of us what we know of Verres comes from the summaries of his case in such standard biographies of Cicero as those by Strachan-Davidson and Forsyth.

Dr. Cowles now has placed the entire evidence against Verres in a convenient form. The ordinary student of history can make easy use of this repository of highly suggestive material for the study of Roman judicial procedure, provincial administration, fiscal management, and last but not least governmental and legal chicanery. In such a work, sound analysis is required in lieu of any daring originality of scholarship, and more than this is not attempted by the present volume. However, the treatment of Verres's claim to be an art connoisseur (which claim Dr. Cowles believes to have been considerable, despite his remarkable methods for filling his galleries) is an intelligent and in the main very convincing handling of a difficult subject. Likewise the arrangement of the chronology of the trial of Verres, as presented in the appendix, probably will be accepted as approximately final by the majority of students.

The essay proper falls into seven chapters which follow mainly the order of the orations of Cicero, and which deal respectively with the early life of Verres, his praetorship, his maladministration of justice in Sicily, his treatment of Sicilian taxation problems, his thefts of property and works of art, his crimes in connection with the pirates, and finally his return to Rome, prosecution, and exile.

A few slips in the Latin spellings have been noted, but none serious enough to decrease the value of this highly useful, if not correspondingly original monograph.

WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS.

The Geography of Strabo. With an English translation by Horace Leonard Jones, A.M., Ph.D., based in part upon the unfinished version of John R. S. Sterrett, Ph.D., LL.D. In eight volumes. Volume I. [Loeb Classical Library.] (London, William Heinemann; New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1917, pp. xlii, 531, \$1.50.) The treatise of Strabo, as Professor Sterrett's introduction points out, is more than a mere geography—it is an historical geography and it is a philosophy of geography. He might have added that, in the loss of its Alexandrian sources, it is one of the most interesting monuments of ancient culture. It reveals not only the amount of geographical knowledge accessible to a contemporary of Cicero and Horace in the libraries of Alexandria and Rome but the intelligence which he could presuppose in his readers. The world moves and we know much that they could not know. But there is nothing in Strabo so funny as the statement by an eminent modernist authority on logic and education that "men thought the world was flat until Columbus thought it round".

This first of the projected eight volumes, containing the first two

books of the geography, is mainly concerned with introductory matter—criticism of the astronomy or the geography of Eratosthenes, Hipparchus, Polybius, and Posidonius, a defense of the geographical accuracy of Homer, which recalls the eloquent tirade in *Eothen*, demonstrations of the sphericity and estimates of the size of the earth, speculation on the causes of ocean currents and of the geological transformations to which sea-shells found far inland bear witness. Strabo argues that geography is a science serviceable to statesmen and generals. For these purposes his geography is superseded. It is no longer possible to “wrap” either world politics or “the church of God in Strabo’s cloak”. But his work is still indispensable to the student of history and especially to the student of the history of science and culture.

Dr. Jones’s translation is in the main trustworthy and proves him entirely competent to revise and continue the work of his teacher, Professor Sterrett. He has misapprehended two or three technical passages and sometimes fails to catch the precise force of philosophical terms that belong to the vocabulary of the liberally educated man of post-classical antiquity. But there are not enough of these lapses to impair the value of his work, and to catalogue them here would give an unfair impression of the general soundness of his scholarship.

PAUL SHOREY.

Procopius. With an English translation by H. B. Dewing. In six volumes. Volumes I., II. *History of the Wars, Books I.-IV.* [Loeb Classical Library.] (London, William Heinemann; New York, G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1916, pp. xv, 582, 488, \$1.50 per volume.) It is pleasant to see the *Loeb Classical Library* giving some place to products of Byzantine literature, following in that particular the example of the famous *Bibliotheca Teubneriana*. It is to be hoped that this initiative will bring to those interested in classics a better understanding of the real importance of Byzantine literature for the study of the classics, which cannot reasonably be isolated in the general development of Hellenism and have much to gain, if they are properly placed in the historical evolution of the Greek spirit and the Greek language.

It is fortunate that Procopius has been chosen as the first Byzantine writer to appear in the *Loeb Classical Library*. He is, indeed, the main source for one of the most brilliant periods in Byzantine history, that of Justinian. Of Procopius’s *History of the Wars*, Mr. Dewing, assistant professor in Princeton University, formerly professor at Robert College in Constantinople, has now published the two books of the Persian War and the two of the Vandalic War. According to the scheme of the *Loeb Library*, the first volume opens with a brief introduction, and every volume ends with a copious and very useful index. The introduction deals in a summary manner with the personality of Procopius, his life, his quality as an eye-witness of the events he describes, his writings, and their historical value and style. The ques-

tion, once so much debated, of the genuineness and authority of the *Secret History* is clearly expounded. We may perhaps regret the absence of a brief historical survey of the period covered by Procopius's writings, as that history is so little known by the public and such a chapter would have contributed much to the comprehension of the text and the more so as the explanatory foot-notes under the English translation, particularly in the first volume, are very few.

The introduction is followed by a short bibliography mentioning six works connected with Procopius. It is supposed to be a selection, and therefore I am surprised to see mentioned an old German Programm (W. Gundlach, *Quaestiones Procopianae*, Hanau, 1861), and an article in Russian (B. Pancenko, "On the *Secret History* of Procopius", *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, II., 1895), and not the general and more accessible works of Krumbacher, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Literatur* (second ed., 1897), and Ch. Diehl, *Justinien et la Civilisation Byzantine au VI^e Siècle* (1901), both of which, beside their valuable articles on Procopius, contain excellent bibliographies for further study.

The text of Procopius followed by Mr. Dewing is that of Haury, published in 1905-1913 in the *Bibliotheca Teubneriana*. I confess I do not see the principle which led the translator in the choice of the few critical readings, some of merely orthographic interest, he prints in the notes. I think it would have been better simply to follow Haury's text, as Mr. Dewing does, and to omit entirely the readings of the manuscripts, except in the very few cases where there was, in the interest of the translation, a substantial reason to do otherwise.

I regret that not being a specialist in English I cannot pronounce upon the qualities of Mr. Dewing's translation. But judging by what I hear from some reliable authorities, it is the result of very conscientious work and combines the two most important features in such a publication, accuracy and elegance.

P. VAN DEN VEN.

Sardinia in Ancient Times. By E. S. Bouchier, M.A. (Oxford, B. H. Blackwell, 1917, pp. 185, \$1.75.) In this, his latest synthetic essay, Mr. Bouchier again demonstrates his ability and scholarship. The skillful avoidance of controversial topics, the simplicity of style, the frequent reference to literary and epigraphic sources, which characterized his accounts of Spain and Syria, have been applied to this of Sardinia. Paucity of material which may be used in a semi-popular work of this character has led the author to include cavemen and Gregory the Great in his survey. The account follows the line of least resistance and greatest information in that it is almost wholly archaeological. "The chapter on the Prehistoric Age is little but a description of the chief classes of antiques." Legendary History is given in the words (translated) of Diodorus, Silius, Pausanias, pseudo-Aristotle, and Solinus. Geography, legend, and anthropological research

are combined to establish the dominant influence of Africa upon the island and its people. The resemblance to Spain in this matter is mentioned, while the chapters on Carthaginian and Roman republican rule bring out at least one more feature common to Spanish and Sardinian tribes: that they valiantly resisted foreign domination. Other interesting parallels are noted in the imperial period, during which the Romans exerted a marked influence upon the islanders.

The contests of Romans, Vandals, Ostrogoths, and Byzantines for control of Sardinia are given in a chapter on the Later Empire. With them are interwoven the threads of church history, the conclusion being based on the letters of Gregory the Great, "since they do something to illustrate the social and religious condition of the island in this age of transition from ancient to modern history".

Natural Products and Commerce, a section inserted for some unknown reason between two historical chapters, compares favorably with the *Britannica* article on the subject. It is even better, for Mr. Bouchier has included a proverb and a fish story, not to be found in the *Encyclopaedia*. But in the pages devoted to Carales, the Chief Cities of Sardinia, Architecture and the Arts, and Religion, the author is least satisfactory. Mr. Bouchier has essayed the difficult task of writing a technical work in a popular style. The scholar will long for more critical apparatus, the layman will be bewildered by scientific details. Still both will find much that is worth while and valuable.

J. J. V.

The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Thirty-Third Year of the Reign of King Henry the Second, A. D. 1186-1187. [Publications of the Pipe Roll Society, vol. XXXVII.] (London, St. Catherine Press, 1915, pp. 1, 287.) The present roll contains historical material of about the same variety and in about the same quantity as its immediate predecessors, which have been noticed in previous numbers of this periodical (XVIII. 388; XX. 190; XXI. 172). The name of the editor is not specified, but the introduction is so characteristic of Mr. Round with regard to style and content, that there seems to be little doubt about his authorship. Entries upon the roll of a peculiar nature or an exceptional interest rarely escape his observation, and the introduction is consequently a fairly comprehensive guide to items of these sorts. The most important of them are the accounts for the scutage of Galloway, paid by the knights who had not gone with the king on his expedition in the previous year, and for the tallage, levied on the royal demesne and on the lands of royal tenants then in the king's hands. These the editor treats at some length, pointing out the principal additions made to our knowledge of these forms of taxation. He gives the usual extensive space to the genealogy of the families of royal ministers and leading nobles and to the history of their possessions. More briefly he notices such subjects as the itinerary of the king, the deeds of other members

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of the royal family, the royal castles, the administration of the vacant bishoprics and abbeys, and the passage of prominent persons to and from England. He mentions a few aspects of legal and judicial development, but for the most part he ignores the numerous illustrations of the ordinary working of Henry's judicial and administrative machine. These constitute the most valuable contribution made by the record, but their general similarity to entries in earlier rolls probably justifies the editor's emphasis.

W. E. LUNT.

San Pedro Nolasco, Fundador de la Orden de la Merced (Siglo XIII.). Por Fray Pedro N. Pérez. (Barcelona, E. Subirana, 1915, pp. 253, 3 pesetas.) This volume adds little to our knowledge of San Pedro Nolasco. There were already several works on the Order of the Merced which left comparatively little to be gleaned concerning him, and moreover, "the intimate details and precise dates" of his actions are very few.

The facts of the saint's life as Fray Pedro sets them forth may be briefly summarized. Nolasco was of French extraction, but the names of his parents and the date of his birth are unknown. He went to Barcelona about 1208 and ten years later founded the order for the redemption of captives from the Moslems. He himself redeemed 890, and the total number rescued during the time he was at the head of the order amounted to 2718. In 1249 he resigned the generalship; he died seven years later. His advice was much sought by King James the Conqueror, whom he aided in many ways. During his lifetime his order spread widely and branches were established in Majorca, Catalonia, Aragon, Valencia, and Languedoc. After some opposition he was canonized in 1628, his name was inscribed in the Roman Martyrology in 1655, and nine years later the office for his feast was placed in the Roman Breviary for January 29.

The most important sources are the *Documento de los Sellos*, which was drawn up only four years after his death in order to set forth all the facts which were known about his life and character, and the *Memoirs* of the second head of the order, which "contain important notices concerning the life of the saint". The author has utilized these sources very fully and carefully. He argues that the order was founded in 1218, that it was at first a military order, that it was not an off-shoot from the Dominicans, and that Nolasco himself was, and remained, a lay-brother. Aside from proving these points, all of which have been subjects of controversy, his main interests are in glorifying the founder of his order, and in writing a work of edification for pious readers.

The bibliography is very incomplete and does not show the extent of the author's researches; in fact it contains only a part of the works which he has used and cited in his notes. When he writes of contemporary events not directly connected with his subject, he sometimes falls into error, notably in his brief account of the Albigensians.

D. C. M.

Privilegis i Ordinacions de les Valls Pirenenques. Editats per Ferran Valls Taberner. Volume I. *Vall d'Aran*. [Textes de Dret Català.] (Barcelona, La Casa de Caritat, 1915, pp. xxvii, 199.) The Pyrenees have long been known to history as a region of political curiosities, from the municipalities of the Basques to the "Republic" of Andorra. Between these two more widely celebrated communities are a series of less conspicuous valley settlements whose curious institutions, notably their medieval federations or *traités de lies et de passeries*, have been ably investigated by several French scholars. It has remained, however, for the present volume to present for the first time a body of carefully edited original materials upon certain Aragonese aspects of this phase of Pyrenean history.

The Vall d'Aran lies near the centre of the range and has been by far the most important of these mountain valleys, both historically and economically. Like most of them, it crosses the main axis of the ridge and has long served as a means of Franco-Spanish communication. In fact, the picture presented by these documents of the medieval intercourse—political, commercial, and pastoral—between Gascony and the Spanish kingdoms refutes once more that trite supposition regarding the "barriers" imposed by mountain ranges.

The volume comprises an elaborately annotated historical and bibliographical introduction, followed by fifty Latin and Catalan charters of the period 1265–1496, of which most of the originals are in the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, in Barcelona. The documents are well chosen as to subject-matter and present data upon a wide range of topics: the imperialistic schemes of James the Conqueror (1265), which partly explain the fact that Aran is politically Spanish to-day, whereas geographically it is French; Pyrenean town government in the early fourteenth century; the administration of justice; royal taxation; the regulation of prices, coinage, and fairs; trade and pastoral migrations between Gascony and Aragon; the co-operation of Aran in the Sardinian wars and in the defense against the French (1381). The collection offers excellent opportunities to trace various Aragonese and Pyrenean institutions through a considerable period of time. An interesting illustration is the office of *procurador* or representative of the crown of Aragon in Aran, a post which apparently combined some of the democratic attributes of the Castilian Cortes deputy of the same name with the executive authority of the Aragonese *justicia*.

The bibliographical data of the introduction might well have been improved with citations of recent studies in this field by Cavaillès in the *Revue Historique* (1910), Chevalier in the *Revue des Pyrénées* (1906), and Boissonnade in the *Annales du Midi* (1905). Furthermore, the student investigator will probably feel that the space given to some of the fifteenth-century confirmations of earlier charters, which are printed elsewhere in the volume, ought to have been devoted to more valuable material. But these two minor deficiencies in no way detract from the

real value of this inaugural volume of a series which will evidently be an important contribution to Pyrenean historiography and will fully maintain the high standards of present-day Catalan scholarship.

JULIUS KLEIN.

Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville. By J. A. Lovat-Fraser, M.A. (Cambridge, University Press, 1916, pp. x, 146, \$1.10.) In one important particular Mr. Lovat-Fraser's study of Dundas is disappointing. Dundas, as the cabinet colleague and social intimate of Pitt, must always be interesting. The story of his impeachment, moreover, when well told, as it is in Mr. Lovat-Fraser's pages, will long continue to have an interest for students of English history of the period of the last wars with France, and also for those of the working of British parliamentary institutions. But to-day the fame or notoriety of Dundas lies mainly in the fact that he was for a quarter of a century the political boss of Scotland. He began the career that made him famous in 1782, when Shelburne reappointed him as lord advocate, called him into the cabinet, and made him also treasurer of the navy, and keeper of the Scottish signet for life; and his career as boss did not end until 1806. Shelburne in 1782 bestowed on Dundas "the recommendation of all offices which should fall vacant in Scotland". This patronage was the key to the power of Dundas north of the Tweed. Entrusted with this patronage, and also with much patronage other than Scottish, which he drew to himself at Whitehall, Dundas was successful as boss to a greater degree than any of the three or four bosses of Scotland who had exercised power from the Union to 1782.

It is Dundas as a boss that makes the strongest appeal to students to-day. But Mr. Lovat-Fraser intimates that it is not at present possible to tell the complete story of Dundas; and adds "nor is that the object of this sketch".

Until the voluminous papers and documents at Melville Castle, the home of Dundas, and at Arniston in Midlothian, the home of his ancestors [he continues], are rendered accessible to research, no biography is possible. In 1887, Mr. George Omond published a history of the family of Dundas of Arniston, and stated that, as originally planned, the work included a memoir of its most distinguished member. He added, however, that it was afterwards decided to omit his letters at Arniston, and to make them, with the papers at Melville Castle, the groundwork of a separate biography of Dundas. This has never been done, and until those papers and the numerous other documents at the Record Office and elsewhere are examined or published, it would be idle to attempt a complete account of Dundas's career.

It is unfortunate that Mr. Omond's life of Dundas has not appeared. It is also unfortunate, in view of the material that is available outside Melville Castle and Arniston, that Mr. Lovat-Fraser was so easily discouraged from attempting the larger task, and preparing, as he is obviously capable of doing, a study of Dundas in the peculiar realm of

politics that he made so exclusively his own. Mr. Lovat-Fraser has written a discriminating and interesting biography of Dundas as a parliamentarian, as the holder of various offices of cabinet rank, and as a figure in social life in London and Edinburgh. But Dundas ranks with Newcastle and George III. as one of the three great political bosses of the eighteenth century; and despite Mr. Lovat-Fraser's book, we are still waiting for adequate studies of the methods and achievements of all these three bosses.

EDWARD PORRITT.

Thirty-Seven Years of Holland-American Relations, 1803 to 1840. By Peter Hoekstra. (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans-Sevensma Company, 1916, pp. 184, \$1.00.) This book opens with a general introduction in which are sketched several different lines of connection between Holland and North America. Having afforded the reader this historical background, the author devotes the remainder of his study to a thorough investigation of the relations between the United States and Holland during a specially chosen period—the first three decades of the nineteenth century.

In the years from 1803 to 1813 relations between the two countries grew out of trade and navigation. Americans reaped considerable profit until Holland, virtually annexed to France, was subjected to the restrictions of Napoleon's Continental System; thus French decrees and British Orders in Council practically ruined American trade with Holland from 1808 to 1813. When Holland had regained its independence after the overthrow of Napoleon, the United States lost no time in demanding compensation for the injuries sustained "by the unwarrantable seizures, destruction, and even confiscation" of American property in Dutch ports. These spoliation claims were dropped in 1820 when it dawned upon American diplomats that France, not Holland, was the real offender against American neutrality.

Meanwhile, the United States had decided upon the policy of partial reciprocity in its trade relations with Holland. From 1818 to 1840 commercial intercourse gave rise to the only questions at issue between the two nations, especially with reference to the discriminations practised by the Dutch government in favor of its own commercial and trading classes. After years of dispute diplomatic negotiations culminated in the conclusion of a commercial treaty which produced a more perfect reciprocity and a more friendly understanding.

Mr. Hoekstra's readable book is supplied with a good bibliography and plentiful foot-note references to hitherto unused manuscripts in American, British, and Dutch archives and to books in French, Dutch, and English. An index would have made the study complete.

J. VAN DER ZEE.

Obstacles to Peace. By S. S. McClure. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917, pp. xxiii, 487, \$2.00.) Mr. McClure's book is the result of the ten months which he spent in Europe last year, during the course of which he visited Germany, Belgium, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, France, and England. With fine discretion he leaves on one side the question of conflicting territorial claims and is chiefly concerned in presenting to us the state of mind prevalent amongst the different peoples, and in describing "the extraordinary hatreds, contempts, and horrors that divide the warring nations". The mutual distrust and moral cleavage between the two sides form, in his opinion, the most serious obstacles to peace.

The author appreciates fully the fact that in attempting to bring about an amicable and permanent settlement the question of responsibility cannot be ignored; for there can be no durable peace if the factors which first disturbed it are not understood and provided against. He devotes, therefore, much of his earlier chapters to a description of international conditions immediately previous to the outbreak of the war, and this part of the book may be said to be historical in character. He gives a well-proportioned review of Germany's plans for the development of Mesopotamia and fully emphasizes the significance of her aspirations in this quarter. The author is convinced that she was determined at all hazards to keep the road clear from Hamburg to Bagdad. "The fate of Turkey", he says, "is the issue of this war". Mr. McClure also presents a summary which covers the crises of the decade that followed 1904 and appends a discussion of Anglo-German relations after 1912. From the historian's point of view this is the most important portion of his work, for he publishes the text of the proposed treaty that was to settle the terms upon which Germany and Great Britain planned to arrange the differences caused by the Bagdad Railway. The general purport of this agreement has been known and its text already printed in newspapers; but it is well that Americans should understand its significance, for it goes far to disprove the German theory of *Einkreisung* ascribed to Sir Edward Grey. It is a pity that Mr. McClure did not also publish the accompanying understanding so nearly reached by the two nations in reference to disputed questions in Africa.

In these chapters, as in his description of the crisis of 1914 and his discussion of Belgian neutrality, the author does not assume the tone of a scientific historian. But Mr. McClure has collected a large quantity of documents and excerpts from the writings of historians and publicists which will prove useful for purposes of reference. He has exercised excellent judgment in his selection and presented them in convenient form and compass. The book is primarily designed for the general public, but every teacher of recent European history will be glad to have it on his shelves.

CHARLES SEYMOUR.

El Descubrimiento de América en la Historia de Europa. Por Juan B. Terán. (Buenos Aires, Coni Hermanos, 1916, pp. 196.) A student of the colonial history of Tucumán, Señor Terán has set himself the preliminary task of explaining the whole era of discovery and colonization in America by relating it to certain aspects of the previous history of Europe—feudalism, the political evolution of the Italian cities, the development of their commerce, their traffic with the East, and the reasons why Italy, though furnishing the discoverer, could not take the leading part in the work of discovery and colonization. Already in 1532 we find López de Gomara declaring that "the greatest affair since the creation of the world, apart from the incarnation and death of Him who created it, is the discovery of the Indies". For this great work it was requisite to call into action a race having a more powerful national unity than the Italian.

The design of Señor Terán is, it will be seen, analogous to that of Professor Cheyney's *European Background of American History* in Professor Hart's *American Nation* series. Señor Terán's book is not based on so much solid learning, and is written in a more rhetorical style, but has many merits; and it is instructive to see the antecedents of the great movement of American discovery and exploration as they appear to one whose interest lies not in the English settlements and in North America, but in the great southward empire into which Spain poured so mighty a stream of effort.

Proceedings of the New Hampshire Historical Society. Volume V., 1905-1912. Edited by Otis Grant Hammond, Superintendent of the Society. (Concord, 1917, pp. 443.) In this volume the society's proceedings for seven years are fully recorded and eleven papers read before it are printed. Of the latter, the most important is Mr. Hammond's careful and instructive article, of some fifty pages, on the Tories of New Hampshire. There is an entertaining address by the late Frank B. Sanborn, on Dartmouth College, its Founders and Hinderers. Three biographical articles, the first by F. P. Wells, the second by John Scales, and the third by Victor C. Sanborn, treat of Col. Israel Morey, a pioneer of the upper Connecticut Valley, of Gen. Thomas Bartlett, Revolutionary officer, and of the Rev. Stephen Bachiler, for whose vindication an interesting and in some ways substantial plea is made. Other papers relate to matters more local—the Pascataqua Bridge, the Oyster River Massacre, and Chester Fifty Years Ago.

Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts. Volume XVIII. *Transactions*, 1915-1916. (Boston, the society, pp. xvii, 459.) In this handsome volume the longest contribution is one by Mr. Albert Matthews, on Harvard Commencement Days, 1642 to 1916, to the dating and defining of which he succeeds in devoting seventy-five pages, based on the conscientious researches made toward the edition of the early

college records which he is preparing for the society. A contribution of almost equal length, and of greater interest, is Professor Edmund B. Delabarre's paper on Early Interest in Dighton Rock. This is apparently the beginning of an elaborate investigation of the whole subject of inscriptions, the present installment giving the history of the first discovery by white settlers, of the first drawing, by John Danforth, 1680, of Cotton Mather's drawings of 1690 and 1712, drawings (as one might expect) "without a peer in misrepresentation", and of the visits made and accounts given by the various persons known to have inspected the rock in the early eighteenth century. Among the early visits recorded are those of Dean Berkeley and John Smibert. Professor Delabarre clears up the confusion about Isaac Greenwood's letters on the subject. Of these letters and of several early drawings photographic reproductions are given in the volume. Dr. A. H. Buffinton of Williams College breaks what is substantially new ground in an important field by an intelligent paper on New England and the Western Fur-trade. Two other papers of interest are those of Mr. Albert Matthews on the Solemn League and Covenant of 1774, and of Mr. Winslow Warren on the Pilgrims in Holland and America. Mr. W. C. Ford prints the diary kept by George Washington from August 1 to October 18, 1776.

Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts. Volume V., 1672-1674. (Salem, Essex Institute, 1916, pp. 501.) The records of the Essex courts and the papers illustrative of them continue to be presented after the same plan pursued in the preceding volumes, and with the same intelligence and skill in condensation and the same completeness of indexing. With some slight differences because of later date, these records, depositions, examinations, wills, inventories, continue to supply a marvellous profusion of data on life, law, and habits in colonial Massachusetts, on agriculture and trade and the development of industries, on misdemeanors and disputes, on clothing, furniture, and tools, on church life and rural thinking. Neither Salem nor any other town in the county affords any case of witchcraft in the voluminous records of these years.

Ancient Town Records. Volume I. *New Haven Town Records, 1649-1662.* Edited by Franklin Bowditch Dexter, Litt.D. [New Haven Colony Historical Society.] (New Haven, the society, 1917, pp. 547.) In 1857 the first volume of the records of the colony of New Haven was printed by the state of Connecticut, and in the following year a second volume completed these records to 1665. The present volume contains the records of "a Court held at New Haven", and those of "the General Court for New Haven", later called the "town meeting". There are also included the minutes of five sessions of the "selectmen". The matter of the volume is concerned with a great variety of small things, the trifles that make the every-day life of a neighborhood. Fines

are inflicted on those careless citizens who forget their "watch", who fail to train, who have not the specified amount of powder, whose children indulge in "disorderly walking" on the Sabbath day, as well as for drunkenness, lying, and theft. Orders are issued for fence-building and repair, seats are assigned in the meeting-house, cattle branded, estates settled, claims between neighbors adjusted, all with equal attention to detail. The book is edited with Mr. Dexter's usual painstaking skill.

Chronicles of the Cape Fear River, 1660-1916. By James Sprunt. With a preface by S. A. Ashe. Second edition. (Raleigh, N. C., Edwards and Broughton Printing Company, published by the author, 1916, pp. 732, \$4.00.) As the result of many requests, this volume, which was reviewed by me in the *Review* of October, 1915, has been made available to the public in a second edition. The first edition, of 1914, was limited, and distributed by the author. This new edition marks a great improvement, especially in form of arrangement; and contains considerable new matter of permanent interest and value. These additions, amounting to exactly one hundred pages of text, are supplemented by six rare maps and a thoroughly adequate index of forty-four pages. The most important additions are "Wilmington in the Forties", eight papers by John MacLaurin which originally appeared in the local newspapers; three reports on Wilmington trade, 1815, 1843, 1872; the sketch, by Miss Rosa Pendleton Chiles, of the distinguished French scientist Alyre Raffeneau Delile, vice-consul in North Carolina (1802-1806); and an extended history of Wilmington churches. Forty-nine new subjects are dealt with; and many brief additions and emendations have been made. New excerpts, from addresses and published writings, of Catherine Albertson, J. G. deR. Hamilton, J. J. Blair, J. O. Carr, Walker Meares, J. D. Cox, Rosa Pendleton Chiles, and R. B. Slocum are included. The book's most interesting chapter remains "Blockade Running", slightly extended; and mention should be made of the brief new chapter on the "Use of Torpedoes in the Cape Fear River during the War". On the whole, it may be said that this volume constitutes a contribution, of permanent value, to the historical literature, not only of North Carolina, but also of the United States. The author acknowledges his special indebtedness to Capt. S. A. Ashe and to Miss Rosa Pendleton Chiles.

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

The Virginia Committee System and the American Revolution. By James Miller Leake, Ph.D., Associate in History, Bryn Mawr College. (Baltimore, the Johns Hopkins Press, 1917, pp. ix, 157, \$1.75.) This is a work of considerable importance, especially the first part. Basing his research on Dr. Jameson's article, "The Origin of the Standing-Committee System in American Legislative Bodies", the author has

made good use of the series of *Journals* of the Virginia House of Burgesses, published in recent years. Dr. Leake shows that Virginia was the first colony in America to develop a system of standing committees for the transaction of business. The committee feature of American legislative bodies is supposed to have originated in Congress in 1789. On the contrary, it came into existence in the Virginia assembly in the seventeenth century, and by the time of the Revolution was almost as fully developed as it is to-day. Congress simply borrowed the Virginia committee system, which was perfectly familiar to Madison, who had served on important committees in the Virginia legislature.

Besides the chapter on the committees of the House of Burgesses, which is really a contribution, the author discusses at length the Virginia committees of correspondence of 1759 and 1773. The committee of correspondence of 1773 is hardly analogous to the committees of the House of Burgesses, since it was really not a legislative committee at all but a revolutionary junta engaged in arranging for the coming revolt. Yet it is well to have a careful study of a movement so fraught with momentous consequences.

Perhaps Dr. Leake lays a little too much stress on the representative character of the House of Burgesses. He adopts the view, somewhat challenged by recent research, that the Revolution in Virginia moved so smoothly because there was little opposition to it. If he had extended his study of the Revolutionary committee system to the Committee of Safety and the county committees of 1774-1775, he would have modified his conclusions. In fact it was due to the perfect organization of the colony through the local committees, not to unanimity of opinion, that loyalism made no headway in Virginia. There were many Tories in Virginia, but the committees gave them no chance to raise their heads in the beginning of the Revolution and they were gradually driven from the state.

An extension of Dr. Leake's monograph is desirable. He has talent for research and has made an excellent beginning. He has it in him to write a very valuable book on the committee system in early American politics. He should study the committees in the Virginia May Convention of 1776, and, above all, Jefferson's most important committee activity in the Virginia House of Delegates in the October session of 1776, when the democratic leader began his great reforms.

H. J. ECKENRODE.

George Washington's Accounts of Expenses while Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army, 1775-1783. Reproduced in Facsimile with Annotations by John C. Fitzpatrick, Assistant Chief, Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917, pp. vii, 155, \$10.00.) When Washington was chosen by the Continental Congress to be the commander-in-chief of

the armies he stated in accepting that he would make no charge for his services but would keep an exact account of his expenses, and those he doubted not the Congress would discharge. At the close of the war he made out with his own hand two copies of his expense account, transmitting one, together with vouchers, etc., to the Board of Treasury, retaining one copy himself. It is from the latter, among the Washington Papers in the Library of Congress, that the present facsimile reproduction is made.

The account as rendered by Washington is made up from sundry expense books and memoranda kept by aides, stewards, housekeepers, and others, and is therefore summary in character; nevertheless it contains many items of detail that are of peculiar interest. For instance, this statement, together with the memoranda on which it is based, furnishes much new information concerning Washington's movements, as well as the character of the commander's expenditures. An interesting and historically valuable series of entries is that of payments for secret service. From 1778 this was conducted chiefly under the direction of Maj. Benjamin Tallmadge. Washington carefully concealed the names of his secret agents (the identity of some of them has been established from other sources), but he testifies in a note to the debt of obligation due them from the public.

The entries in the account are copiously and judiciously illuminated by the editor, drawing his materials chiefly from the documents which accompanied Washington's statement and from other Washington papers. Items otherwise obscure or meaningless are made clear and given a genuine interest through explanation of their purpose, analysis of their details, or other intimate touch. There are also numerous brief biographical and personal notes as well as occasional notes of some length helpfully setting forth a bit of historical background. It is fortunate that the editing of this document has fallen to the hand of Mr. Fitzpatrick, whose intimate knowledge of the Washington Papers and of the personnel surrounding the commander-in-chief eminently fits him for the task. His performance of the task deserves only commendation. The reviewer may however be permitted to suggest one probable misapprehension of the editor: on page 127 he refers to the doubtful meaning of "at Providore". If for "at" he will read "as" the meaning, it is believed, will be clear.

E. C. B.

Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society. Edited by Dunbar Rowland, LL.D., Secretary. Centenary Series, volume I. (Jackson, Miss., 1916, pp. 664.) The designation "Centenary Series" indicates the intention to commemorate, by several volumes, the one hundredth anniversary of Mississippi's admission into the Union in 1817; the relation to that event, however, is not closer than in the case of the preceding volumes of the society. Indeed, like them, it is devoted chiefly to the

history of the period of Civil War and Reconstruction. Two-thirds of the volume is occupied by a valuable paper by J. S. McNeily, entitled *From Organization to Overthrow of the Mississippi Provisional Government*, and nearly a fourth of it to an historical sketch, mingled with personal experiences, of the Walthall Brigade in the Army of Tennessee, C.S.A., 1862-1865, by E. T. Sykes, formerly adjutant general of the brigade. The remaining contents are: a list of British Land Grants in West Florida, compiled by Mrs. Dunbar Rowland; a history of Company C, Second Mississippi Regiment, in the Spanish-American War, by J. M. Robertshaw; and two articles by G. J. Leftwich, the one devoted to Col. George Strother Gaines (younger brother of Gen. Edmund P. Gaines), and other Pioneers in the Mississippi Territory, the other to the Natchez Trail and other roads in the territory.

The Mexican War Diary of George B. McClellan. Edited by William Starr Myers, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History and Politics in Princeton University. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1917, pp. iv, 97, \$1.00.) This diary was decidedly worthy of publication. It discloses much regarding its author's personality, and so bears significantly on the history of our Civil War. Its lifelike pictures of real campaigning in a foreign country are calculated to impart more just ideas on that subject than our people generally entertain. The true character of our "citizen soldiery" is presented with a tinge of prejudice but essentially in colors true to the original. And much interesting information is given in reference to certain episodes of the Mexican War—particularly the march from Matamoros to Victoria and Tampico (pp. 21-50), the siege of Vera Cruz (pp. 53-73), and the battle of Cerro Gordo (pp. 79-90). In his account of this battle McClellan makes a distinctly important contribution to the history of Pillow's operations, with which he was intimately associated as engineer officer, and—abundantly supported by Engineers Tower and Stevens, Colonel Campbell (second in command), Colonel Haskell (whose regiment did the fighting), and other excellent officers—shows that in reality they were a burlesque of war. To the same extent he throws light upon Ripley's history, for one reading the latter's pages (II. 72-73) would form an essentially erroneous opinion of the affair. Light is also thrown upon the value of official statements, for whereas General Patterson's report is calculated to convey the impression that Pillow was wounded in conducting a charge with conspicuous "gallantry" "at the head" of his brigade, McClellan mentions (p. 84) that he received a shot while making himself small by squatting down with his back to the foe and thereupon ran immediately for the rear. The editor provides a brief but good introduction and a considerable number of useful notes, which mainly consist of biographical data or of illustrative excerpts from contemporary sources. It would have been well to give the Spanish for "ligna" (*i. e.*, *linea*) on page 18, "Polance" (*i. e.*, *piloncillo*) on

page 49, "escopette" (*i. e.*, escopeta) on page 56, and "Santana" (*i. e.*, Santa Anna) on page 77. One can hardly state that Santa Anna rebelled "immediately" after the coronation of Iturbide (p. 41, note). A few accents are missing, and a few misprints (*e. g.*, "them" for then on p. 24, "Puerto" for Puente on p. 77 and "Vergera" for Vergara in the index) occur. The map is almost illegible.

JUSTIN H. SMITH.

Galusha A. Grow, Father of the Homestead Law. By James T. DuBois and Gertrude S. Mathews. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917, pp. xi, 305, \$1.75.) With the exception of a few fragments of a projected autobiography and the oral statements of his old age, Galusha A. Grow left behind him nothing of special use to his biographers, who have drawn their materials for this work from the *Congressional Globe*. Such values as the work may have they have obscured by vagueness of general statement and by infrequent use of supporting references and even dates. It cannot either impress the learned or enlighten the ignorant to have an elementary statement in the text supported by the simple foot-note "Shosuke Sato" (p. 52); and it shows ingenuousness to ascribe a generalization upon the wishes of the West to "Benton, *Abridgment of Debates*" (p. 57) without further specification as to the part of the sixteen tomes from which the generalization is drawn. Only the well-informed will identify the work cited (p. 63) as "Haney, *Railroad Grants*". The text is adorned with frequent physiological and theatrical metaphors, and "terrain", "folkland", and "commonage", used as synonymous for the public domain, match the vivid but unusual "politicianly", "rancored", "flavorful", and "examplng". Constant effort has been made to freshen up the style lest, perhaps, the unromantic solidity of the subject deaden it. The reviewer in search for good is driven to hunt for lucidity of arrangement or grasp of problem to offset the vagaries of treatment.

In the scarcity of books dealing with the public lands this one will have some value. It traces the public domain as an issue in politics through the dozen years between 1850, when Grow secured David Wilmot's seat in the House, and 1862. The preliminary sketch is based not upon a study of the sources on the public lands but upon the historical references gleaned from the speeches of these dozen years. A congressman at twenty-six and a practical frontiersman, Grow entered public life with a vision of free homesteads, though not himself experienced in the existing land law. The free-land movement was in 1850 too old and too much a part of the frontier for any convert like Grow to have done much to deflect its course. It was a convenient club for Northern congressmen out for Southern heads, but had no "parent" such as the agricultural college land grant had in Justin Morrill. It was Grow's consistent medium for keeping himself in the parliamentary front.

The sources are not produced, beyond Grow's formal words, to indicate how far he shaped the fight or why, indeed, he secured the speakership in 1861. His defeat for re-election in 1862 is laid to the grudge of Simon Cameron, without a show of proof although the fact is probable enough. His re-entry as a congressman-at-large for three terms in his old age is passed over with few words. These terms, and his declining years as a pensioner upon Mr. Carnegie's broad humanity, added no new interests to his life.

As a life of Grow this book will hardly justify itself, for its basis is too slight; but as a sketch of a portion of the history of the public domain it will have a use.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

The Fight for the Republic: a Narrative of the more Noteworthy Events in the War of Secession, presenting the Great Contest in its Dramatic Aspects. By Rossiter Johnson. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1917, pp. xii, 404, \$1.75.) This book has been written before and by the same author. In 1910 the author published *A History of the War of Secession*, the military chapters of which are now reprinted under a separate title. The original volume, while not a profound work, is still an interesting, useful, and well-rounded study, dealing not only with the military side of the struggle but also with political contests and policies, foreign affairs, and conditions in general in the North during the war. The present volume excludes practically everything except military history, and on this side presents little that is not found in the former volume. Much of the meagre new material is purely illustrative, to add dramatic touches. A large percentage of the sentences are reproduced with no change at all, many with the change of but a word or clause. Students of the war period will find nothing new in *The Fight for the Republic*, while for those who are taking up the subject for the first time the book is not to be recommended because it is too one-sided. Moreover, it is too general and too purely narrative for the professional military historian. Finally, it is not annotated and contains no bibliography, though it is provided with an excellent set of maps which the original volume lacks.

Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at its Sixty-Fourth Annual Meeting held October 19, 1916. (Madison, the society, 1917, pp. 363.) A fourth of this volume is occupied by annual reports and similar material. Of the historical papers the most notable is the address by Capt. Arthur L. Conger, U. S. A., on President Lincoln as War Statesman, a remarkably thoughtful, discriminating, and incisive paper. Professor Joseph B. Thoburn of Oklahoma presents *New Light on the Career of Capt. Nathaniel Pryor*, but there is additional light to be obtained from Washington archives. Father Chrysostom Verwyst's *Reminiscences of a Pioneer Missionary* belong to the best

class of such narratives; their author came to America from the Netherlands in 1848 and went to Wisconsin in 1855. Albert O. Barton, editor in Madison, recounts the Beginnings of the Norwegian Press in America. William C. Cochran, clerk of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals at Cincinnati, sets forth "The Dream of a Northwestern Confederacy", to wit, that entertained by Southern leaders at the beginning of the Civil War, and during its first two years. The Watertown Railway Bond Fight (1857-1895) is described by Dr. William F. Whyte. Mr. Newton H. Culver presents a sketch of his commander in the Civil War, Brevet-Major Isaac N. Earl: a noted Scout of the Department of the Gulf.

Records of the Columbia Historical Society. Volume XX. (Washington, 1917, pp. 325). In this volume, consisting of papers read before the Columbia Historical Society, the article of most interest to other than local readers is Mrs. Harriot Stoddert Turner's memoir of Benjamin Stoddert of Georgetown, first secretary of the navy, who immediately upon his appointment by President Adams in 1798 proceeded to create the new American navy. Another contribution of general interest is that in which Miss Marian Graham Bell reprints from the *Transactions* of the American Philosophical Society Dr. William Thornton's essay of 1803, "Teaching the Deaf or Surd, and consequently Dumb, to Speak". Mr. Willis L. Moore, formerly chief of the Weather Bureau, gives an historical account of the beginnings of its work. Mr. P. Lee Phillips recounts the story of Benjamin Banneker, the negro astronomer, and prints from one of his almanacs his plea and plan for universal peace. Articles of more local interest are those of Mr. A. C. Clark on Walter Lenox, thirteenth mayor of Washington (1850-1852), and of Mr. W. V. Z. Cox on Matthew Gault Emery, the last mayor (1870-1871); that of Mr. T. W. Noyes on the Presidents and the National Capital; Mr. W. A. Gordon's Recollections of a Boyhood in Georgetown; and a paper on the late Henry A. Willard, proprietor of the Willard Hotel, by his son Mr. H. K. Willard.

Mine Taxation in the United States. By Lewis Emanuel Young, M.E., Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Business Organization in the University of Illinois. [University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, vol. V., no. 4.] (Urbana, University of Illinois, 1916, pp. 275, \$1.50.) This study is of interest primarily to mining engineers, to economists in general, and to specialists in taxation; but, since it is, in the author's words, "essentially an historical statement and comparison of methods employed in assessing and taxing mining properties", considerable material is presented in it not easily available elsewhere for historians.

In the introduction is a résumé of state and national policies in respect to sovereignty and mineral rights, which includes a sketch of

the history of the leasing of lead mines and salt springs. In summary of the national policy as to titles the author concludes that

There has evidently been nothing in the history of the development of the mining customs or of the mining laws of the United States to warrant any assumption that the mining industry should be taxed upon a different basis from other industries operating upon property secured without reservation by complying with Acts of Congress.

With the exception of New York, the states also have allowed title to minerals to pass with the surface. The author rightly emphasizes the peculiar nature of the mining dividend as representing "both a dividend and an annuity to reimburse the stockholder for the sum he has invested in his stock". A suggestive review of the mining history of the United States is condensed into a few paragraphs, and to it is appended a short bibliography.

Chapter II., on Federal Taxation of Mines, calls attention to the fact that prior to the income tax of 1861 the only revenue derived by the national government from mines was through lease or sale of land. In the main, taxation since has been levied through income and corporation taxes.

Much information is compressed into chapter III., which deals with the History of Mine Taxation in the States. The states selected as typical or of special importance are Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Utah, Virginia, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming. The great diversities in methods and proportions of taxation are pointed out, and recent tendencies to more systematic procedure are traced.

From the point of view of an historian the book is a compilation setting forth data of value in clear but dry style. It lacks, however, interpretation of facts, historical background, the "human interest" element. By the use of a wider range of sources and attention to interpretation and background, the historical parts might well be expanded into a volume which would be a distinctive contribution to our mining history.

WILLIAM TRIMBLE.

Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada. Edited by George M. Wrong, H. H. Langton, and W. Stewart Wallace, of the University of Toronto. Volume XXI. *Publications of the Year 1916.* (Toronto, University Press, 1917, pp. xi, 192.) Few nations—none that the present writer can now recollect—have general annual surveys of their historical literature so excellent, in completeness of enumeration, fullness of information, and soundness of judgment, as this with which Professor Wrong and his associates annually supply the Dominion of Canada. In view of the uniformity of plan, the reviewer of the twenty-first volume of such a series can have little to say, beyond urging his-

torical students in the United States to make diligent use of these volumes to overcome the barriers which copyright and customs (and custom) have interposed between their own minds and Canadian historical literature. For our own part, our chief concern in opening a fresh volume in this series is to learn what important books we have failed to see or hear of. In the case of 1916, the number is less than usual. The chief such books to be now signalized are the *Lettres de Monseigneur Joseph-Norbert Provencher, Premier Évêque de St. Boniface* (St. Boniface, Société Historique, *Bulletin*, vol. III., 1913, pp. 286), the *Vie de Mgr. Langevin* [archbishop], by Father A. G. Morice, O. M. I. (St. Boniface, 1916, pp. xvii, 374), both important for the history of the Canadian West; and a seventh of the Abbé Auguste Gosselin's learned and valuable books on the history of the Catholic Church in Canada, *L'Église du Canada après la Conquête*, I., 1760-1775 (Quebec, 1916, pp. xii, 432). The concluding volumes in the captivating series of *Chronicles of Canada* also fall within the survey.

Historia del Descubrimiento de Tucumán. Por Ricardo Jaimes Freyre, Consejero de la Universidad de Tucumán. (Buenos Aires, Coni Hermanos, 1916, pp. 312.) The region of Tucumán, in northwestern Argentina, was discovered by an expedition which set out from Peru in 1542 under Diego de Rojas and Felipe Gutiérrez, companions of Pizarro, and returned in 1545, after striking vicissitudes, under Nicolás de Heredia. The contemporary original sources for its history are practically four, some of which have only in recent times become available—the *Quinquenarios* of Gutiérrez de Santa Clara (1904-1905), Cieza de León (1553, 1880, 1909), the *Historia del Perú* of Diego Fernández "el Palentino" (1571), and Ruy Díaz de Guzmán (1835). Basing his work on the careful and critical study of these primary authorities, Señor Freyre adds to his previous writings on the history of Tucumán this excellent account of the famous expedition. Distinctly of the solid and critical school, yet wishing to appeal to a general public, he essays to meet the difficulties inherent in a twofold aim by devoting the first half of his book to chapters of narrative, the second to critical dissertations. The narrative is written in an animated and attractive style, yet with sobriety. The critical investigations—of sources, itineraries, native tribes, archaeology—are presented clearly and with scholarly thoroughness.

COMMUNICATION

THE "HISPANIC-AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW".

TO THE MANAGING EDITOR:

Sir:

JUST a year ago, there appeared in the *American Historical Review* a communication from Drs. W. S. Robertson and C. E. Chapman broaching the advisability of founding a quarterly publication to deal with the history of the New World states that have sprung from the efforts of Spain and Portugal in colonization.

In the furtherance of the project, a meeting was held during the convention week at Cincinnati, at which steps were taken to found such a publication. A Committee on Organization was appointed with instructions to take the necessary steps toward the proposed foundation.

The duties imposed on the committee included among others the raising of a guarantee fund of at least \$10,000 (since it could not be hoped that the Review would be self-supporting for several years at least), and the preparation of the first number of the Review.

The committee is now able to announce that sufficient funds have been gathered to ensure the inauguration of the publication (although the fund is still some thousands short of the figure named in the instructions) and the first number of the Review is expected to appear by February, 1918, at the latest.

In view of the fact that the sum of \$10,000 has not yet been raised in its entirety, it is suggested that members of the American Historical Association who desire to do so may make pledges or cash contributions to the project through the undersigned, or through Mr. Waldo G. Leland, who has consented to act as trustee of the guarantee fund; and it is hoped that there will be a generous response to this suggestion. It is also suggested that some may wish to contribute a certain sum each year for three more years.

It is expected that the subscription price of the Review will be three dollars per annum. Subscriptions are requested. They should be sent to the undersigned immediately.

JAMES A. ROBERTSON,

Chairman of the Committee on Organization.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Announcement has already been made in this journal that the thirty-third annual meeting of the Association will be held in Philadelphia on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, December 27-29, and that the headquarters of the convention and of the bureau of registration will be the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel. The following is a summary of the programme. *Thursday*, 10 A. M., general session, American history; papers by Professors Turner, McLaughlin, and Jameson. 2.30 P. M., conferences: archivists, ancient history (joint session with the American Archaeological Institute), English medieval history. 6.30 P. M., group dinners, to be arranged for. 8.15 P. M., presidential address by Mr. W. C. Ford. 9.45 P. M., reception by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. *Friday* (at the University of Pennsylvania), 10 A. M., conferences: church history and medieval history (joint conference with American Society of Church History), Mississippi Valley Historical Society, military history. 1.00 P. M., luncheon. 2.30 P. M., general session, modern European history, especially recent Russian history. Supper at the university. 8.15 P. M., general session; papers by Professors Dunning and J. H. Robinson. 9.45 P. M., smoker. *Saturday*, 10 A. M., conferences: historical societies, history teachers (and History Teachers' Association of the Middle States and Maryland), Far East. 2.30 P. M., business meeting. 8.15 P. M., joint meeting with the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, etc.

The usual fall meeting of the Executive Council will be held in New York on November 30 and December 1.

The Committee on Nominations asks that members will promptly fill out and return the informal ballots which have been distributed, so that the committee may have ample time to prepare its report, which, in accordance with the by-laws, must be presented to the Association not later than December 7.

The Finance Committee of the Executive Council, at a meeting held in Washington in July, decided, in view of present circumstances, to suspend the effort inaugurated in January to increase the invested funds of the Association from \$25,000 to \$50,000. It should be emphasized however that the movement has not been abandoned, but only postponed until a more favorable time. Pledges thus far made aggregate \$3,140, of which amount \$785 has been paid in.

The Finance Committee has also been forced to the conclusion that the publication of a *Quarterly Bulletin* cannot be inaugurated this year. The condition of the Association's treasury, with the heavy drain made upon it by the completion of the *General Index*, has been such that, even with the aid of the amount generously pledged by members at the Cincinnati meeting, it has been impossible to make such an expenditure as the publication of the *Bulletin* would have called for. The committee hopes and expects however that the *Bulletin* may become a reality in 1918.

Writings on American History, 1915, compiled by Miss Grace G. Griffin, the annual bibliography of books and articles on United States and Canadian history, supported by the American Historical Association and other societies and individuals, has just been published by the Yale University Press in a volume of 194 pages. This is the tenth volume in the series, the value of which to historical investigators obviously increases with added years. It is hoped that all members of the Association who can do so will promote the purchase and circulation of the volume.

The Winsor Prize Essay of 1916, *Connecticut in Transition, 1775-1818*, by Richard J. Purcell, is on its way through the press and will be published early in the winter.

NATIONAL BOARD FOR HISTORICAL SERVICE

The board has been enabled by the public spirit of various donors to offer prizes to the public school teachers in each of fourteen different states for the best essay, primarily historical in character, on the subject: Why the United States is at War. In each state a first prize of \$75 and additional prizes of \$30, \$20, \$15, \$10 are offered to teachers in public high schools, a first prize of \$75, a second of \$25, and five third prizes of \$10 each to teachers in public elementary schools, the desire being expressed that the essays shall be intelligible and interesting to pupils in the class of schools in which the writer is teaching. Circulars respecting the conditions of the prizes may be obtained from the secretary of the board, Mr. W. G. Leland, 1133 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C. The competition in Illinois, New Hampshire, and Virginia is closed on November 15. In the other states so far organized it is closed on January 1. It is believed that the competitions will do much to stimulate in the younger part of the population an intelligent interest in the present crisis.

Further educational work of importance has been done in connection with the Bureau of Education and with the *History Teachers' Magazine*. Four committees under the general chairmanship of Professor E. B. Greene have been working upon the problems which arise in connection with the adjustment of history teaching to the new conditions caused by the war. The committees, acting respectively for the four

fields of ancient history, medieval and modern history of Europe, English history, and American history, will prepare for the *Magazine* a series of articles in each of these fields, running *pari passu* with the usual school curricula, and making suggestions for the treatment of the successive periods in the new perspective which the war has brought into existence. The September number contains four admirable articles, by Professors J. H. Breasted, D. C. Munro, L. M. Larson, and E. B. Greene respectively, introductory to these series, and explaining in general terms the grounds of new interest in history and of new distribution of emphasis in its treatment.

Professor Samuel B. Harding of Indiana has prepared for the board a syllabus for lectures or reading courses on the causes of the war. Other work has been done in collaboration with the Committee on Public Information, to whose *War Information* series a select bibliography of the war will be contributed, as well as a pamphlet by Mr. Leland on the collecting of material respecting the war, and its treatment by libraries and historical societies. Efforts have been made to incite individual historians to speak and write on the issues of the war. In the former respect some useful results have been produced in summer schools; in the latter a definite arrangement has been made with one of the leading magazines for the supply of historical articles adapted to inform the public in matters bearing upon the war.

Other historical scholars who have assisted the Board for longer or shorter periods in Washington are: Messrs. E. E. Brown, E. S. Corwin, C. E. Gould, D. C. Munro, W. Notestein, C. O. Paulin, F. L. Paxson, J. G. Randall, and L. F. Stock, and Misses Louise F. Brown, F. G. Davenport, Harriet Dilla, and Elizabeth Donnan.

(See also under *America: Items arranged in Chronological Order.*)

PERSONAL

William A. Mowry died at Hyde Park, Mass., on May 22, at the age of eighty-seven. An experienced and successful schoolmaster, he wrote a useful series of text-books of American history, and more detailed studies of *Marcus Whitman and Early Oregon* (1901) and *The Territorial Growth of the United States* (1902).

Hon. George L. Rives, assistant secretary of state from 1887 to 1890, and for many years prominent in the conduct of Columbia University and other important institutions in New York city, died on August 18, at the age of sixty-eight. An excellent historical scholar, he had published (1913) *The United States and Mexico, 1821-1848*.

Dr. Marion D. Learned, professor of German in the University of Pennsylvania, editor of the *German-American Annals*, and secretary of the German American Historical Society, died at Philadelphia on August 2, at the age of sixty. An enthusiastic and tireless worker in the field

of German-American history, he had published a valuable *Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius* (1908), and had laid a solid foundation for all future studies of his subject by the *Guide to the Manuscript Sources of American History in the German State Archives* (1912) which he prepared for the Carnegie Institution of Washington. He was a man of singularly winning character, greatly beloved by many friends.

Dr. Jesse B. Carter, director of the American School of Classical Studies at Rome from 1907 to 1912, and of the American Academy at Rome since that time, died at Bologna on July 22, at the age of forty-five. His death was caused by sunstroke, encountered while returning from the Italian front on Red Cross work. He was the author of historical books on *The Religion of Numa* (1906), and on *The Religious Life of Ancient Rome* (1911).

Professor Henry Augustus Sill of Cornell University died August 12, at the age of thirty-nine. After long studies at Halle, he became professor of ancient history at Ithaca in 1902. Well trained in his subject, and skillful and attractive in its presentation, he was also a man of wide interests, political and literary, and one of much cultivation and charm.

Dr. Theodore F. Collier, assistant professor in Brown University, has been made professor of European history. Dr. L. C. Shippee of the same institution has been called to the University of Minnesota as assistant professor of history.

Dr. Alfred Henry Sweet will be acting professor of English history at Cornell University during the present year, taking the place of Professor Lunt, whose transfer to Haverford College we have already chronicled.

Professor Walter L. Fleming of the Louisiana State University has become professor of history in Vanderbilt University, in succession to Professor Sioussat.

Dr. Wilmer C. Harris has been promoted to an assistant professorship in history at the Ohio State University.

Professor Guy S. Ford of the University of Minnesota has been stationed in Washington since June, associated with the Committee on Public Information as chief of the Division of Civic and Educational Cooperation. His leave of absence will continue through the present academic year. Dr. A. C. Krey has been promoted to the grade of associate professor of history. Professor Wallace Notestein has been given leave of absence for a half-year, to continue in historical work at Washington for the benefit of the Committee on Public Information. His work at Minneapolis is taken by Dr. A. H. Basye of Dartmouth College.

Professor Francis W. Shepardson, after twenty-six years of service in the historical department of the University of Chicago, has resigned

his chair to become director of the Department of Registration and Education of the state of Illinois.

Among those historical teachers known to us to have entered the military service of the country since the opening of the war are Professors (or Doctors) J. H. C. Allison (ambulance service), H. C. Bell of Bowdoin College (first lieutenant in the Intelligence Department), Hiram Bingham (major in the Aviation Service), A. C. Coolidge (major, in Red Cross work), O. M. Dickerson of the Minnesota Normal School (captain of infantry), R. H. Gabriel, Perrin Galpin (second lieutenant, field artillery), R. H. George (captain), A. E. Harvey of Chicago and T. C. Pease of Illinois (Reserve Officers' Training Corps at Fort Sheridan), R. B. Merriman, L. B. Packard (first lieutenant), W. E. Stevens (second lieutenant, intelligence department), and T. C. Van Cleve (first lieutenant, infantry).

GENERAL

In *The Measure of Civilization*, by Mr. Guy M. Walker (Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Company), the author develops the doctrine that civilization in all places and at all periods of history is measurable by the excellence of the system of transportation of the place or time. This idea he illustrates by a rapid survey of ancient and modern history.

Professor William Trimble of the North Dakota Agricultural College has printed, in a modest pamphlet of 47 pages (Fargo, College Book Store), an *Introductory Manual for the Study and Reading of Agrarian History*, in which references and suggestions are given respecting the history of ancient, medieval, and modern agriculture and especially of that of the United States.

Professor William Cunningham of Cambridge two years ago delivered in the London School of Economics lectures which are now published (Cambridge University Press) under the title *The Progress of Capitalism*. To students of economic history the volume offers useful material.

The first treatise on its subject, and an important contribution both to the history of numismatics and to the early history of arithmetic, is F. P. Barnard's *The Casting-Counter and the Counting-Board* (pp. 358, demy quarto, with many illustrations), published by the Clarendon Press.

H. A. Maddox is the author of an interesting little volume on *Paper, its History, Sources, and Manufacture* (London, Pitman, 1917, pp. 167).

Dr. Edward L. Stevenson, secretary of the Hispanic Society of America, has added to his notable series of scholarly contributions to the history of cartography a volume of *Facsimiles of Portolan Charts belonging to the Hispanic Society of America* (Putnam), reproducing sixteen representative portolan charts from the society's large manu-

script collection, four of them in colors. The introduction presents an excellent study of this class of mariners' charts in their general aspect.

The July number of the *Military Historian and Economist* has two historical articles, one the initial article of a series on Pope's Campaign in Virginia, by one of the editors, Professor R. M. Johnston, the other an account, also to be continued, of the Visayan Campaigns of the American Army, by Professor H. V. Bronson. The usual installment of the Memoirs of Gen. D. S. Stanley is presented.

In *Modern Currency Reforms* Professor E. W. Kemmerer presents a valuable historical study of changes in the currency standard in India, Porto Rico, the Straits Settlements, the Philippines, and Mexico.

Mr. W. M. Acworth is the author of a helpful government report presented to the Joint Committee of Congress on Interstate Commerce entitled *Historical Sketch of Government Ownership of Railroads in Foreign Countries* (pp. 63).

The July number of the *Catholic Historical Review* contains four highly meritorious historical articles. The first, by Professor John F. O'Hara of the University of Notre Dame, presents the history of Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, first President of the Council of the Indies (1493-1523); in the second Bishop Corrigan completes his Chronology of the American Hierarchy by adding the appropriate data respecting the provinces of Chicago, St. Paul, and Dubuque, and the Ruthenian-Greek diocese; in the third, Father Charles L. Souvay of Kenrick Seminary, St. Louis, treats the episode of Bishop Rosati's Elevation to the See of St. Louis (1827); in the fourth, Rev. Dr. Edwin V. O'Hara of the cathedral in Portland treats briefly of the Catholic Pioneers of the Oregon Country. There is also a biographical sketch of Vicar-General Mosetizh (1797-1863) of Pittsburgh, and, for documents, a reproduction of the pieces respecting the rise and fall of the Church in Greenland which J. C. Heywood's *Documenta Selecta* presented in photographic facsimile in 1893 in an edition of only twenty-five copies.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. A. Phillips, *National Federations and World Federation* (Edinburgh Review, July).

ANCIENT HISTORY

M. D. Sidersky has contributed to the solution of several problems in the chronology of the Ancient East in his *Étude sur la Chronologie Assyro-Babylonienne* (Paris, Imp. Nationale, 1916, pp. 95), which is an offprint from the thirteenth volume of the *Mémoires* of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres.

With *The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht* by A. C. Mace and H. E. Winlock, the Metropolitan Museum begins a series of *Publications* of the Egyptian Expedition, to be edited by Albert M. Lythgoe.

The concluding volume, T-Z with indexes, of Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines d'après les Textes et les Monuments* (Paris, Hachette, 1917) has recently appeared.

An illuminating analysis of Greek society, especially good on the side of Greek political thought, is provided for the student by Mr. C. Delisle in *Greek Ideals: a Study of Social Life* (London, Bell and Sons).

Mr. R. H. Lacey's Princeton dissertation on *The Equestrian Officials of Trajan and Hadrian: their Careers, with some Notes on Hadrian's Reforms* (Princeton University Press, 1917, pp. 87), prepared as a contribution to the understanding of the administrative reforms of these two emperors, presents under the name of each official who was of the *equites* all the data known regarding his history, discusses Hadrian's reforms respecting the *equites*, and adds many notes and two indexes.

The administrative and public life of Byzantine Egypt is illustrated by the three volumes of the *Catalogue des Papyrus Grecs d'Époque Byzantine*, prepared by the late Jean Maspero. He had finished the manuscript of the third volume before he fell in battle in February, 1915, but the work was carried out by his father, Sir Gaston Maspero, and by M. Bernard Haussoullier.

St. Severinus and the Closing Years of the Province of Noricum, by C. C. Mierow, is a *Colorado College Publication* (Language Series, vol. II., no. 33).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Piroutet, *Questions relatives à l'Age du Bronze* (*L'Anthropologie*, January); P. Cruveilhier, *La Monogamie et le Concubinat dans le Code Hammourabi: les Contrats de la Première Dynastie Babylonienne et l'Histoire Patriarcale* (*Revue Biblique*, January); A. T. Olmstead, *The Political Development of Early Babylonia* (*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, July); R. Weill, *La Fin du Moyen Empire Égyptien, Compléments*, I. (*Journal Asiatique*, January); W. C. Wood, *The Religion of Canaan* (*Journal of Biblical Literature*, March-June); J. Touzard, *L'Ame Juive au Temps des Perses*, II. (*Revue Biblique*, January); M. Sprængling, *The Aramaic Papyri of Elephantine in English*, I. (*American Journal of Theology*, July); G. Glotz, *L'Histoire de Délos d'après les PRIX d'une Denrée* (*Revue des Études Grecques*, July, 1916); Rev. Cuthbert Lattey, S. J., *The Diadochi and the Rise of King-Worship* (*English Historical Review*, July); L. O. T. Tudeer, *On the Origin of the Maps attached to Ptolemy's Geography* (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXXVII. 1).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

Dr. Charles F. Nolloth has, in *The Rise of the Christian Religion: a Study in Origins* (Macmillan) confined himself to the first century, which he interprets with much knowledge and insight.

The Rev. O. R. Vassall-Phillips has translated into English and supplied with critical notes *The Work of St. Optatus, Bishop of Milevis, against the Donatists, with Appendix* (Longmans).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The fourth volume of Professor Fernand Mourret's *Histoire Générale de l'Église* bears the inexplicable subtitle *Le Chrétienté* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1916, pp. 610) and covers the period of the rivalry of the Papacy and the Empire from the coronation of Otto I., 962, to the elevation of Pope Boniface VIII., 1294. Like the other volumes this is based on secondary works, but there is a failure to use the German works, which is peculiarly indefensible for this period.

Reverend C. J. Kirkfleet is the author of a *History of St. Norbert, Founder of the Norbertine, Premonstratensian Order, Apostle of the Blessed Sacrament, Archbishop of Magdeburg* (St. Louis, Herder, 1916, pp. xx, 364).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Duchesne, *Les Schismes Romains au VI^e Siècle* (Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, June, 1915); L. Halphen, *Études Critiques sur l'Histoire de Charlemagne*, II. *Les "Petites Annales"* (Revue Historique, July); C. W. P. Orton, *Italy and Provence, 900-950* (English Historical Review, July); R. Ristelhueber, *Les Croisés au Liban* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXI. 1); E. Gorra, *Dante e Clemente V.* (Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana, LXIX. 2); Canon E. Vacandard, *The Attempt at Union between Greeks and Latins at the Council of Ferrara-Florence, 1438-1439* (Constructive Quarterly, June).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Beginnings of Modern Europe, by Professor Ephraim Emerton of Harvard University, to be published this fall by Ginn and Company, continues through the period of transition from medieval to modern history the author's well-known previous volumes entitled *An Introduction to the Middle Ages* and *Medieval Europe*.

The youthful career of the founder of the Society of Jesus is set forth in the first volume of S. Pey-Ordeix's *Historia Critica de San Ignacio de Loyola* (Madrid, Marzo, 1916, pp. 320).

In a book to be published by John Murray this autumn, *Three Centuries of Treaties of Peace and their Teaching*, the Right Hon. Sir W. G. F. Phillimore, late lord justice of appeal, essays to supply materials for guidance in settling the terms of the future peace, drawn from an analysis and criticism of the more important treaties of peace of the last three centuries and of their results. Also replete with historical knowledge is Sir Ernest Satow's *Guide to Diplomatic Practice* (London and New York, Longmans, two vols., pp. 408, 405).

Venceslas Gasiarowski has edited an illustrated folio volume by various collaborators on *La France et la Pologne à travers les Siècles* (Paris, Levé, 1917, pp. 76). A monograph on *Une Mission Diplomatique en Pologne au XVII^e Siècle: Pierre de Bonzi à Varsovie, 1665-1668* (Paris, Champion, 1916, pp. 62) is by Anne Marie Gasztowtt.

An essay by Charles Flachaire deals with *La Dévotion à la Vierge dans la Littérature Catholique au Commencement du XVII^e Siècle* (Paris, Leroux, 1916, pp. 174).

The latest volume of essays by Dr. Cabanès relates mainly to affairs of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and takes its title, *Une Allemande à la Cour de France* (Paris, Michel, 1916, pp. 406), from the leading essay, on Madame Palatine.

The Macmillan Company announces for publication the second volume, 1821-1830, of the late Professor William Smart's *The Economic Annals of the Nineteenth Century*.

Dr. Paul Gautier has edited the articles of Edgar Quinet on Germany with the necessary introduction and notes, with the title "*Allemagne au-dessus de Tout*": *un Prophète, Edgar Quinet* (Paris, Plon, 1917). In like manner various scattered articles by Fustel de Coulanges in the seventies have been gathered into a volume entitled, with happy precision, *Questions Contemporaines* (Paris, Hachette, 1916).

Lt.-Col. Lucien H. Holt and Capt. Alexander W. Chilton, professor of history and instructor in history at the United States Military Academy, West Point, have prepared a text-book of European history, *European History, 1862-1914*, which will shortly be published by the Macmillan Company and which deals chiefly with international relations and military history in the period named.

South African history has received a valuable contribution in two substantial volumes published by the Linschoten Society, *Reizen in Zuid Afrika in de Hollandse Tijd*, edited by Dr. E. C. Godée Molsbergen (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1916).

A supplementary volume has been added by Dr. G. M. Theal to his *History of South Africa*, carrying the story down to 1881. The volume is soon to be published by Messrs. Allen and Unwin.

A Soldier's Memories in Peace and War, by Maj.-Gen. Sir George Younghusband (New York, E. P. Dutton), covers service in Afghanistan, India, Burma, Egypt, and South Africa, with some matter relating to America and the Philippines.

In *Pages d'Avant-Guerre: l'Impérialisme Britannique et le Rapprochement Franco-Anglais, 1900-1905* (Paris, Perrin, 1917), Jean Carrère gives special attention to the relations of Edward VII. and of the British statesmen to what he calls the imperialistic crisis. Franco-German relations are surveyed by J. Turquan and J. Dauriac in *Les Provocations Allemandes, 1871 à 1914* (Paris, Tallandier, 1917).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Drei, *Per la Storia del Concilio di Trento: Lettere Inedite del Segretario Camillo Olivio, 1562* (Archivio Storico Italiano, 1916, I. 2); E. Driault, *Les Napoléons et l'Alliance Latine* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, July); P. Marmottan, *Chateaubriand, Madame Bacciochi, et Napoléon* (Revue de Paris, June 15); Commandant Weil, *Marie-Louise et le Roi de Rome, Schoenbrunn-Vienne, 1814-1815* (*ibid.*, July 1); E. Lenient, *La Solution des Énigmes de Waterloo: Réponse au Colonel Grouard* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, July); J. S. Nicholson, *Trade after the Napoleonic War* (Scottish Historical Review, July); L. Pingaud, *Un Diplomate Russe il y a Cent Ans en Italie: le Prince Kosloffsky* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXI. 1); C. Barbagallo, *Les Responsabilités Politiques de la Guerre Franco-Prussienne de 1870-1871* (Revue des Nations Latines, March, April, June); E. Lavissee and C. Pfister, *The Question of Alsace-Lorraine* (Fortnightly Review, July); E. Daudet, *Le Mariage de Constantin de Grèce* (Revue Hebdomadaire, June 23); S. Bodin, *L'Avant-Guerre Allemande en Russie* (*ibid.*, June 9); A. Mousset, *Vingt Ans de Relations Diplomatiques entre la France et l'Espagne* (Revue des Nations Latines, June).

THE GREAT WAR

The June *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library contains a list of books and pamphlets possessed by the library, on the diplomatic history of the European war, in which nearly three hundred official publications are listed and a lesser number of unofficial publications. Strangely, the collection of documents most useful to American students, Dr. James Brown Scott's, is apparently omitted. There is also a list of the library's recent accessions on the war, like those which have appeared in previous numbers—lists of such fullness as to be well worth following by bibliographers and buyers.

The June *Bulletin* of the Indiana State Library is a selected bibliography of the war. The brief lists of books and magazine articles are topically arranged, covering most of the principal aspects of the war.

La Grande Guerre, Iconographie, Bibliographie, Documents Divers, of which the first volume on iconography has already been noted, has now reached its second volume, which, with the third and fourth announced for early publication, contains a *Catalogue Raisonné des Ouvrages Français et Étrangers, Brochures, Publications Fasciculaires, Périodiques, Articles de Revues, Compositions Musicales, Cartes Géographiques et Affiches-texte, du 1^{er} Août 1914 au 15 Mars 1916* (Paris, Émile-Paul, 1917). The fourth volume will contain an index of volumes II-IV., and the fifth volume will be a *Répertoire Méthodique de la Presse Quotidienne*. Jean Vic has prepared for publication in the early autumn *La Littérature de Guerre, Manuel Méthodique et Critique des Publications de Langue Française, Août 1914-Août 1916* (Paris,

Payot, 1917, pp. 750). The book will contain a selected list of about two thousand titles of books and pamphlets, of which twenty per cent. were published outside France, and a list of about fifteen hundred articles, not reprinted in book form, selected from twenty-five or thirty leading French and Swiss reviews. Some titles of publications in 1911-1914 are included.

Dr. Georges Ferrand has issued a second edition of *Des Requisitions en Matière de Droit International Public, Étude d'Administration Militaire et de Droit des Gens* (Paris, Pedone, 1917). The subject is also treated in the law thesis, *Les Requisitions Militaires* (Paris, Rousseau, 1915, pp. 268), by R. Rucklin. A treatise, *De la Distinction des Combattants et Non-combattants comme Base du Droit de Guerre* (Paris, Pedone, 1917), is by Dr. Annette Mailler. A discussion of *Le Devoir des Neutres* by the Brazilian Ruy Barbosa is available in a French translation (Paris, Alcan, 1917, pp. 96).

Mr. T. Lothrop Stoddard's *Present-Day Europe: its National States of Mind* (New York, Century Company) deals with the war from the point of view indicated in its title, and with intelligence and clearness.

Continuing his history of the war from the earlier volume *De Liège à la Marne*, Pierre Dauzet has written *La Bataille de Flandres, 16 Octobre-15 Novembre 1914* (Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle, 1917, pp. 132). J. Mesnil has furnished the French translation of the third volume on the war by L. Barzini, *La Guerre Moderne sur Terre, dans les Airs, et sous les Eaux* (Paris, Payot, 1917), which is notable for its accounts of various war machines and their uses. J. Reinach's ninth volume of *Les Commentaires de Polybe* (Paris, Fasquelle, 1917) continues the account for 1916. P. Ginisty and Capt. M. Gagneur have issued the first volume of an *Histoire de la Guerre par les Combattants* (Paris, Garnier, 1917, pp. 564) which furnishes an account of the first year of the war by means of selected personal narratives arranged in chronological order. P. H. Courrière is publishing, in parts, an *Histoire Héroïque de la Grande Guerre* (Paris "Éditions et Librairie", 1917, 10 parts of 64 pp. each), in which he follows a somewhat similar procedure but makes a special point of introducing individual names, claiming to mention some 20,000 persons. A serial history of the war in Spanish, *La Guerra Europea, 1914-1915* (Barcelona, Maucci, 1917, vol. III-IV., pp. 639), is by G. Calvo and J. Brissà. The work is illustrated and includes political and social as well as military affairs.

The Retreat from Mons, "by a Member of the British General Staff, from official records", with a preface by Field-Marshal Lord French (Houghton Mifflin) is a small volume in a series of similar booklets which the British government is publishing for the public information, and is an excellent military-history narrative and exposition. The much larger book on *The Marne Campaign*, by Major F. E. Whitton

(same publishers), is one of a series on *Campaigns and their Lessons*, edited by Major-Gen. C. E. Callwell, and is also of high excellence.

On the battles around Verdun, Capitaine H. Bordeaux has written *Les Derniers Jours du Fort de Vaux, 9 Mars-7 Juin 1916* (Paris, Plon, 1916, pp. 314) and *La Chanson de Vaux-Douaumont: les Captifs Délivrés, Douaumont-Vaux, 20 Octobre-3 Novembre 1916* (*ibid.*, 1917). The first of these books has already passed through many editions and is now available in an English translation by P. V. Cohn (Paris, Nelson, 1917). C. H. d'Estre has published *L'Énigme de Verdun: Essai sur les Causes et la Genèse de la Bataille* (Paris, Chapelot, 1916, pp. 72); Lieutenant A. Dollé, *La Côte de 304 et Souvenirs d'un Officier de Zouaves* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917); Lucien Jonas, military painter connected with the Musée de l'Armée and special representative of *L'Illustration*, has devoted his third portfolio of war scenes to *Verdun* (Paris, Dorbon, 1917). Henry Dugard's lively volume has been published in English translation under the title *The Battle of Verdun* (New York, Dodd, Mead, and Company).

The following volumes on other campaigns on the western front may be noted: H. Malo, *Le Drame des Flandres: un An de Guerre, 1^{er} Août 1914-1^{er} Août 1915* (Paris, Perrin, 1916, pp. 318); Paul de Saint-Maurice, *La Ville Envahie* (*ibid.*, pp. 109), an account of the fate of Lille; and J. Poirier, *Reims, 1^{er} Août-31 Décembre 1914* (Paris, Payot, 1917).

The Indian Corps in Flanders, by Lieut.-Col. J. W. B. Merewether and Capt. the Right Hon. Sir Frederick Smith, published by John Murray, under the authority of the Secretary of State for India, has been compiled with the assistance of the official records and the narratives and diaries of officers of the corps, as well as with the aid of its commander, Gen. Sir James Willcocks.

Twenty-two Months under Fire, by Brig.-Gen. Henry Page Croft, is the record of a member of Parliament who served as major in a territorial unit, which was early in action, especially at Ypres, and who commanded his battalion for thirteen months, during much heavy fighting.

Among the personal narratives whose popularity has been proven by the demand for successive editions are A. Bertrand, *La Victoire de Lorraine, 24 Août-12 Septembre, Carnet d'un Officier de Dragons* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917, pp. 219), and P. Duval-Arnould, *Crapouillots, Feuilles d'un Carnet de Guerre* (Paris, Plon, 1916, pp. xiii, 284). Chapters of A. Erlande's *En Campagne avec la Légion Étrangère* (Paris, Payot, 1917) first attracted attention in the *Revue de Paris*. General Bon has written *Un Combattant de la Grande Guerre: Causeries et Souvenirs* (Paris, Floury, 1917). Still other personal narratives are H. René, *Jours de Gloire, Jours de Misère, Histoire d'un Bataillon*,

Alsace, Lorraine, Marne, Ypres, Artois, Verdun, 1914-1916 (Paris, Perrin, 1917); E. Pie, *Dans la Tranchée: des Vosges en Picardie, Tableaux du Front* (*ibid.*); A. Toulemon, *Mobilisés, Scènes et Récits de la Guerre* (*ibid.*); Capitaine A. Pavie, *Mes Troupiers, Artois, Argonne, Verdun, 1914-1916* (Paris, Marne, 1917); J. Mazé, *Le Carnet de Campagne du Sergent Lefèvre, 1914-1916* (*ibid.*, 1916, pp. 316); Lieutenant E. R. (Capitaine Tuffrau), *Carnet d'un Combattant* (Paris, Payot, 1917); and P. Patté, *Le Cran, avec un Préface du Général Niox* (*ibid.*).

The World at War (Macmillan, 1917, pp. 272) is the title of a collection of interesting articles by Georg Brandes, translated by Catherine D. Groth. The rights of small nations and neutral nations, and their claim to an independent point of view, are defended with vehement earnestness.

The still anonymous German author of the remarkable volume *J'Accuse* (1915), which so vigorously arraigned the ideas of the Pan-Germans and the acts of the German government as responsible for the war, has now issued the first of three volumes entitled *Das Verbrechen* (Paris, Payot, 1917, pp. 500). The work appears in German and a French edition will follow promptly, and it is to be hoped that an English translation will also be forthcoming. The author has been collecting further information during the past two years which he here sets forth in additional confirmation of his original indictment, so that the new work promises to be the most authoritative, detailed, and convincing exposition of the guilt of the Central Powers. The German government has punished the publisher of *J'Accuse*, Payot, whose home office is at Lausanne, Switzerland, by excluding all his publications.

The English translation of the clever work of André Chéradame, *The Pangerman Plot unmasked: Berlin's Formidable Peace-Trap of "The Drawn War"* (Scribner, 1917, pp. xxxi, 235) has unfortunately not been brought up to date by alterations or additions, especially to take notice of such a work as Naumann's *Central Europe*. Chéradame, whose work appeared in French early in 1916, had travelled and studied conditions in the Central Monarchies as well as familiarized himself with the German writings on national aims and Weltpolitik.

Longmans, Green, and Company publish, in English translation, Professor Louis Renault's legal pamphlet prepared for the French Committee for the Advancement of International Law, entitled *First Violations of International Law by Germany: Luxembourg and Belgium* (pp. 78).

The French Ministry of Foreign Affairs has issued a pamphlet of documents concerning *Les Prisonniers Allemands au Maroc, la Campagne de Diffamation Allemande, le Jugement porté par les Neutres, le Témoignage des Prisonniers Allemands* (Paris, Hachette, 1917).

Three narratives of experiences in the hospital services on the western front have appeared almost simultaneously: Dr. L. Chauveau, *Derrière la Bataille* (Paris, Payot, 1917); J. M. Bourceret, *Sur les Routes du Front de Meuse, Souvenirs d'un Infirmier-Major* (Paris, Perrin, 1917); and A. Bessières, *Le Train Rouge, Deux Ans en Train Sanitaire* (Paris, Beauchesne, 1917, pp. 288).

More or less of the records of personal experiences in the war are transcribed in the following biographical volumes: P. Pacary, *Un Compagnon de Péguy, Joseph Lotte, 1875-1914, Pages Choisies et Notice Biographique* (Paris, Gabalda, 1916); Comte Guy de Robien, *L'Idéal Français dans un Coeur Breton: l'Héroïque Commandant de Robien* (Paris, Plon, 1917, pp. 480); L. Tavernier, *Joseph Tavernier, Sergent au 94^e, et Paul Tavernier, Caporal au 205^e, à la Mémoire de Mes Fils, Morts pour la France, Portraits, Notices, Lettres de Guerre, Septembre 1914-Octobre 1915* (*ibid.*, 1916, pp. 145); E. Baumann, *L'Abbé Chevo-leau, Caporal au 90^e d'Infanterie* (Paris, Perrin, 1917); and G. Duhamel, *Vie des Martyres, 1914-1916* (Paris, *Mercure de France*, 1917).

Several volumes of observation, comment, or discussion of the war by non-combatants offer matter of diverse interest and value: such are René Bazin's *Récits du Temps de la Guerre* (Paris, Calmann-Levy, 1915, pp. 300) and *Aujourd'hui et Demain: Pensées du Temps de la Guerre* (*ibid.*, 1916, pp. 384); Ernest Daudet's *Mes Chroniques de 1915 et 1916: Pages d'Histoire en Marge de la Guerre* (Paris, Attinger, 1917); the *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Nancy, Nancy Sauvée* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917) by R. Mercier, editor of *L'Est Républicain* of Nancy; *Autour de la Guerre Actuelle: Essai de Psychologie Militaire* (Paris, Chapelot, 1917, pp. 320) by Émile Mayer (Lt.-Col. E. Manceau); and *La Guerre et le Progrès* (Paris, Payot, 1917) by J. Sageret.

Six Months on the Italian Front, by Julius M. Price (New York, E. P. Dutton), is a record of months in 1915-1916 by the war-artist correspondent of the *Illustrated London News*.

A volume which promises to be of interest, announced for early publication by Mr. John Murray, is *Inside Constantinople: a Diplomat's Diary during the Dardanelles Expedition*, April to September, 1916, by Lewis Einstein. Another phase of this expedition is set forth in *The Immortal Gamble and the Part played in it by H. M. S. Cornwallis*, by A. T. Stewart, acting commander R. N., and the Rev. C. J. E. Peshall, chaplain R. N. (A. and C. Black).

Capitaine Canudo's *Combats d'Orient, Dardanelles, Salonique, 1915-1916* (Paris, Hachette, 1917) has been added to the collection of *Mémoires et Récits de Guerre*.

Miss M. I. Newbigin's *Geographical Aspects of Balkan Problems in their Relation to the Great European War* (Putnam, 1915, pp. ix, 243)

is a distinctly useful presentation of certain geographical and linguistic considerations in the problems of nationalities in Europe. Israel Zangwill's *The Principle of Nationalities* (Macmillan, 1917, pp. 116) is a scathing critique of the discussions of nationality by Rose, Muir, and Toynbee.

A little volume entitled *England's Financial Supremacy* (London, Macmillan, 1917, pp. xv, 106) contains a translation of a series of articles contributed by a leading German financial authority to the *Frankfurter Zeitung* in November, 1915, under the titles, "Die Englische Finanzvormacht", "England's Falsche Rechnung", and "Deutschland und die Erbschaft der City".

The brilliant French publicist Charles Maurras, in *Le Pape, la Guerre, et la Paix* (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1917, pp. 288), has given an account of the politico-religious developments since August, 1914, with the double purpose of setting in what he considers the correct light the behavior of both France and the Church.

English translations have appeared of several books respecting the war of which the French editions have already been noted in these pages, among them M. André Chevrillon's *England and the War* (Doubleday, Page), Professor Henri Hauser's *Germany's Commercial Grip on the World* (Scribners), and Kapitän-leutnant von Mücke's *The Ayesha* (Boston, Ritter and Company; *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXII. 441).

A commencement address by Professor Charles M. Andrews on "Some Constructive Aspects of the War" has been printed as the May number of the *Meredith College Quarterly Bulletin*. It contains many interesting and instructive thoughts, from the workings of an historical mind upon recent events.

Women War Workers (New York, T. Y. Crowell) is an interesting volume consisting of accounts, contributed by representative workers, of the work done by the women of Great Britain in the more important branches of war employment. It is edited by Gilbert Stone.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Docteurs X . . . et Y . . ., *Comment on Fait l'Opinion dans la France Envahie* (Revue de Paris, June 15); L. de Brunier, *Souvenirs de Noyon, 1914-1915* (*ibid.*, July 1, 15); G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Un Crime Allemand: la Destruction de Coucy* (Revue des Deux Mondes, May 1); A. Chevrillon, *Visites au Front: sur le Front Anglais, Juin 1916, I.* (*ibid.*, July 1); XXX., *La Bataille de l'Aisne et de Champagne, 16 Avril-16 Mai 1917* (Revue de Paris, July 1); A. Soulange-Bodin, *Allemagne et Suisse* (*ibid.*, June 15); E. L. Malvano, *Dans le Cadore: Impressions de Guerre* (Revue des Nations Latines, June); P. Khorat, *Propos d'un Combattant: la Guerre en Macédoine* (Revue des Deux Mondes, May 1); A. Gérard, *L'Extrême Orient pendant la Guerre, 1914-1917* (*ibid.*, July 1); P. Cloarec, *La*

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Guerre Sous-marine (Revue des Sciences Politiques, June); C. H. Cunningham, *Spain and the War* (American Political Science Review, August).

(See also under *America: Items arranged in Chronological Order.*)

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

The *Seventeenth Report* of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, a thin pamphlet, was published in 1907. The *Eighteenth Report* (1917) is a substantial volume of 402 pages containing full descriptions of the volumes published in the last ten years: the reports on Lord Middleton's manuscripts and those of the Bishop of London, the diocese of Gloucester, Lord Essex, and many others and some towns, and the volumes known as Cecil MSS. XII., XIII., Marquess of Bath III., Stuart MSS. IV., V., VI., Stopford-Sackville MSS. II., American MSS. (Royal Institution) III., IV., Fortescue MSS. VI., VII., VIII., Ormonde MSS. V., VI., VII., Denbigh MSS. V., Various Collections V., VI., VII., VIII. One appendix lists in various orders of arrangement the reports made by the commission since its foundation in 1867. Another, prepared by Dr. Frances G. Davenport of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, lists with great care all the materials for English diplomatic history, 1509-1783, calendared in any of the commission's reports or indicated in the catalogue of manuscripts at the British Museum.

History, the quarterly journal of the Historical Association, presents in its July number an article by Mrs. J. R. Green on Irish National Tradition, one by Mr. H. M. Beatty on the History of Education, and one by Miss M. A. Howard, head-mistress of a school in Dulwich, on Some Problems of History Teaching in Girls' Secondary Day Schools.

The thesis developed in the first volume of the *Imperial Studies Series*, by Mr. A. P. Newton, *The Old Empire and the New*, is the historical continuity of the British Empire. The volume contains an introduction by Sir Charles Lucas.

The Glastonbury Antiquarian Society has published the second volume (pp. 353-724) of *The Glastonbury Lake Village* by Arthur Bullied and Harold St. G. Gray, containing a full description of the excavations and of the relics discovered, 1892-1907, with chapters on the human and animal remains by Dr. W. Boyd Dawkins and Wilfrid Jackson, on bird bones by C. W. Andrews, and on plants by Clement Reid.

In the collection of *Notes and Documents relative to Westminster Abbey*, E. H. Pearce has published *The Monks of Westminster, a Register of Brethren of the Convent from the Time of the Confessor to the Dissolution, with Lists of Obedientiaries and Introduction* (Cambridge, University Press, 1916, pp. 246).

Professor A. E. Little's Ford Lectures delivered in the University of Oxford in 1916 have been published as *Studies in English Franciscan History* (London, Longmans).

The first volume of a valuable *History of the Cutlers' Company of London and of the Minor Cutlery Crafts, with Biographical Notices of Early London Cutlers*, by Charles Welch, formerly master of that society, has been privately printed by the company. This volume extends to the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Professor C. Bémont has edited with introduction, notes, and a French translation, a fragment of an anonymous Latin chronicle on *Le Premier Divorce de Henri VIII. et le Schisme d'Angleterre* (Paris, Champion, 1917, pp. 160) which is issued as the 221st number of the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*.

The Canterbury and York Society has lately published the fifth part of Archbishop Matthew Parker's Register for the diocese of Canterbury.

A careful and well-documented piece of work is presented by Mr. Horace Bleackley in the *Life of John Wilkes* published by Mr. John Lane.

Constitutional government in the reigns of George III., George IV., William III., and Victoria is the subject of Mr. J. A. Farrer in *The Monarchy in Politics*, soon to be published by T. Fisher Unwin.

Nelson's Last Diary, which extends from September 13 to October 21, 1805, has recently appeared with an introduction and notes by Mr. Gilbert Hudson (London, Elkins Mathews). Its publication shows that the extracts from it which have been used by various biographers of Nelson have contained most of the matter of real importance found in the complete journal.

Volume VIII. of Hon. J. W. Fortescue's *History of the British Army*, covering the years 1811 and 1812, has recently been issued by the Macmillan Company. The volume is accompanied by a small volume of maps and charts illustrating its subject-matter.

The publication of the first volume of the *Fifth Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company*, dated July 28, 1812, with notes and introduction (350 pp.) by Archdeacon Firminger, places in the hands of students much material on the development of the civil administration in British India. The volume is published by Messrs. R. Cambray and Company of Calcutta.

Mr. Noel Williams is preparing a biography of Admiral Sir Charles Napier, based on his correspondence with the Admiralty. The volume will be published by Messrs. Hutchinson.

The first volume of *Selections from the Correspondence of the First Lord Acton*, edited by the Rev. John N. Figgis and Reginald V. Laurence, is shortly to appear from the press of Messrs. Longman. This volume will contain Lord Acton's correspondence with Lady Blennerhassett, Gladstone, and others.

The Life of Sir Clements Markham, K.C.B., F.R.S., by Admiral Sir Albert H. Markham, to be issued during the autumn by John Murray, casts light on the history of polar explorations during sixty years, on Peru and its archaeology, on the Abyssinian war, and on a singularly interesting personal character.

Miss A. E. Metcalfe's *Woman's Effort: a Chronicle of British Women's Fifty Years' Struggle for Citizenship* (Longmans, pp. 350) is mainly devoted to a circumstantial and apparently unprejudiced account of the movement of the militants, during the last decade of the period named.

Professor W. MacNeile Dixon of the University of Glasgow, who has succeeded Sir Gilbert Parker in the conduct of a portion of the "publicity service" of the British government, presents in a little illustrated volume of 95 pages *The British Navy at War* (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company), a useful summary of actions and achievements.

British government publications: *Calendar of State Papers relating to English Affairs preserved principally at Rome in the Vatican Archives and Library*, I., Elizabeth, 1558-1571, ed. J. M. Rigg; *Historical Records of Australia*: series I, *Governors' Despatches to and from England*, vol. IX., January, 1816-December, 1818, ed. Frederick Watson (Sydney, Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament).

Other documentary publications: *The Lincoln Record Society*, vol. IV., *Parish Registers of Grantham*, 1562-1632, ed. C. W. Foster; vol. V., *Parish Registers of Alford and Rigsby*, 1538-1680, ed. R. C. Dudding; vol. VIII., *The Visitation of the County of Lincoln*, 1660, ed. Everard Green (Horncastle, W. K. Morton and Sons).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Jenks, *The Englishman and his Law* (Hibbert Journal, July); Sir Martin Conway, *The Arts in Early England* (Quarterly Review, July); A. P. Newton, *The King's Chamber under the Early Tudors* (English Historical Review, July); C. H. Firth, *England and Austria in 1657* (*ibid.*); W. Cunningham, *The Political Philosophy of the Marquis of Montrose* (Scottish Historical Review, July); A. L. Cross, *The English Law Courts at the Close of the Revolution of 1688* (Michigan Law Review, May); G. Jèze, *L'Exécutif en Temps de Guerre: les Pleins Pouvoirs*, I., *Grande Bretagne* (Revue du Droit Public et de la Science Politique en France et à l'Étranger, January); C. H. Oldham, *Industrial Ireland under Free*

Trade (Economic Journal, June); E. R. Turner, *Opposition to Home Rule* (American Political Science Review, August).

FRANCE

The Library and Bureau of Historical Works of the City of Paris has been transformed into the Institut d'Histoire, de Géographie, et d'Économie Urbaines de Paris by a proclamation of the prefect of the Seine dated February 9, 1917. The proclamation, which sets forth the bases of the new organization, was published in the *Bulletin Municipal Officiel de la Ville de Paris* of February 24, 1917, and reprinted in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* of November-December, 1916.

As successor to the late Abbé J. H. Albanès in the editorship of the collection, *Gallia Christiana Novissima, Histoire des Archevêchés, Evêchés, et Abbayes de France*, Abbé Ulysse Chevalier has brought out the sixth volume, *Orange: Evêques, Prévôts* (Valence, Imp. Valentinoise, 1916, pp. xix, 127). The *Cartulaire de Saint-Cyr de Nevers* (Paris, Champion, 1917) has been edited by René de Lespinasse. Abbé Marie Rannaud is the author of *Histoire de Sixt, Abbaye, Paroisse, Commune, 1135-1914* (Annecy, Abry, 1916, pp. 676); and J. Rouquette of *La Réforme à Maguelone au XIII^e Siècle* (Montpellier, Valat, 1915, pp. 115).

J. Dupont has added to the literature on the Maid of Orleans, *Jeanne d'Arc, d'après ses propres Déclarations, les Dépôts Juridiques des Témoins de sa Vie, les Écrits de ses Contemporains* (Paris, Gigord, 1916, pp. xvi, 296).

The latest products of the cult of Bossuet are Louis Dimier's biographical account, *Bossuet* (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1916, pp. vi, 306); and the third volume, 1659-1661, of C. Urbain and E. Levesque's extended revision of Abbé Lebarq's critical edition of the *Oeuvres Oratoires de Bossuet* (Paris, Hachette, 1917).

An interesting and careful study of a local professional guild is *Les Maîtres Apothicaires de Nancy au XVII^e Siècle* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917, pp. viii, 237) by Émile Monal. The volume contains the constitution and rules of the corporation, a list of the apothecaries with biographical sketches of typical personages, and a descriptive list of drugs and medicaments.

Robert Dubois-Cornuau has selected for biographical attention a figure but little less picturesque and important than his contemporary John Law, *Paris de Monmartel (Jean), Banquier de la Cour, Receveur des Rentes de la Ville de Paris, 1690-1766: ses Hôtels, ses Châteaux* (Paris, Meynial, 1917, pp. 380).

La Déportation Révolutionnaire du Clergé Français (Paris, Gabalda, 1916, pp. 412, 362) is the deceptive title selected by A. C. Sabatié for a

work to which he adds a further ironical title, *La Justice pendant la Révolution*. The first volume deals with the fortunes of the clergy who went into exile after the law of August 26, 1792, while the second volume recites the misfortunes of those who were guillotined, imprisoned, or transported under the harsher régimes of the Convention and the Directory. A study of *Les Actes des Prêtres Insermentés du Diocèse de Saint-Brieuc Guillotinés en 1794, d'après les Documents Originaux* (Saint-Brieuc, Prud'homme, 1916, pp. xliii, 298) is by A. Lemasson. Another local study of the Revolution is Abbé A. Gros's *La Maurienne pendant la Révolution* (Chambéry, Imp. Générale Savoisiennne, 1915, pp. 600), which forms the third volume of the *Mémoires de l'Académie de Savoie*.

Historical as well as political and legal significance attaches to the theses of M. Guy, *La Décentralisation Administrative, Hier. . . . Aujourd'hui . . . Demain* (Paris, Driay-Cahen, 1916, pp. 162); and of T. Petit, *La Représentation Proportionnelle devant les Chambres Françaises, Étude d'Histoire Parlementaire et Législative* (Paris, Tenin, 1915, pp. 292).

Province by province, G. Alphaud has shown how bravely and efficiently France has met the demands of the war, in *La France pendant la Guerre, 1914-1917* (Paris, Hachette, 1917). In other fields may be noted *La France Agricole et la Guerre* (Paris, Baillière, 1916, pp. 302) by Dr. C. Chauveau; *Le Palais et la Justice pendant la Guerre* (vol. I., August 4, 1914-August 1, 1916, Paris, Tenin, 1916), by E. Troimaux; and *L'Ame de la Patrie: Essai sur la Formation Historique de Notre Idéal National* (Paris, Perrin, 1917) by A. Rey.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Mathorez, *Les Éléments de Population Orientale en France: Sarrasins, Maures, et Morisques en France du XIV^e au XVIII^e Siècles* (*Revue des Études Historiques*, April); M. Sepet, *Observations Critiques sur l'Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc: la Lettre de Perceval de Boulainvilliers* (*Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, November); L. Misermont, *Relation de l'Esclavage des Sieurs de Fercourt et Regnard en 1678, écrite par M. de Fercourt* (*Revue des Études Historiques*, April); J. Letaconnoux, *Les Grands Chemins de Bretagne: Essai sur la Résistance Provinciale à la Centralisation Administrative au XVIII^e Siècle* (*Revue du Dix-Huitième Siècle*, January); A. Mathiez, *Les Subsistances pendant la Révolution*, II., *Un Essai de Taxation Populaire au Printemps de 1792* (*Annales Révolutionnaires*, May); *id.*, *Babeuf et Robespierre* (*ibid.*); A. Mathiez, *Un Essai de Réglementation pendant la Première Invasion, Septembre-Décembre 1792* (*Revue Historique*, July); M. Dommanget, *La Déchristianisation à Beauvais, V., La Fête et le Culte de la Raison* (*Annales Révolutionnaires*, May); C. Lefebvre, *Le Droit Successoral pendant la Révolution* (*Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, June); G. Lacour-Gayet, *Talleyrand et l'Expédition d'Égypte*, I. (*ibid.*);

C. Géniaux, *La Kabylie, 1871-1917* (Revue de Paris, July 15); H. Lorin, *Ce que les Colonies ont faits pour la France* (Revue des Deux Mondes, May 1).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

General review: J. Luchaire and J. Alazard, *Histoire d'Italie, Période Moderne, I.* (Revue Historique, July).

In celebration of the ninetieth birthday of Signor Pasquale Villari, the most esteemed of Italian historians (October 3), Professor Giovanni Bonacci has prepared an anthology of the best passages from that master's chief works, *Pasquale Villari: l'Italia e la Civiltà* (Milan, Hoepli), so composed as to present an orderly conspectus of Villari's thoughts on the history of Italian civilization from Roman times to the present days of warfare for historic Italian aspirations. A "profile" or characterization of the venerable historian, by Professor Ermenegildo Pistelli of Florence, is prefixed to the work.

A commission appointed for the purpose some time ago by the Accademia dei Lincei, and presided over by Professor Luigi Luzzatti, will shortly begin the publication of a great collection of acts of Italian constitutional assemblies, from the Middle Ages down. The work will be organized in three grand divisions, of which the first will be devoted to the acts of general and provincial estates (such as the parliaments of Sicily, of Naples, of the States of the Church, of the patriarchate of Aquileia and the county of Gorizia, the estates of Sardinia and Piedmont), the second to the proceedings of modern parliaments (Italian republics 1797-1804, Sicily 1812-1815, Naples 1820-1821), the third to the parliaments and grand councils of Italian communes. A bulletin, of which no. 1 has appeared (Bologna, Zanichelli), will present news of the commission and preparatory dissertations.

An Alpine district furnishes to A. Tallone his subject, *Tommaso I., Marchese di Saluzzo, 1244-1296, Monografia Storica con Appendice di Documenti Inediti* (Casale Monferrato, Tip. Coop. Bellatore e Bosco, 1916, pp. viii, 462). The volume is a number of the *Biblioteca della Società Storica Subalpina*.

G. Dalla Santa has gleaned materials from the letters of three Conatarini brothers between 1392 and 1408 for *Uomini e Fatti dell' Ultimo Trecento e del Primo Quattrocento* (Venice, R. Deputazione di Storia Veneta, 1916, pp. 105).

Pie X. et Rome, Notes et Souvenirs, 1903-1914 (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1917, pp. 320) is by Camille Belleaigue.

In the sixth national congress of the Spanish Association for the Advancement of the Sciences, held with brilliant success at Seville May 2-7, the historical section was presided over by Don Rafael Altamira, who spoke eloquently of the increase of interest in Spanish and Spanish-

American history, manifested by many writers in the United States, and described their varied publications. The United States was represented by Miss Irene A. Wright, who read a paper on Don Juan de Texeda, governor of Cuba 1589-1593.

The guide to the Spanish archives which is being published as supplements to the *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos* is brought, in the May-June number of that periodical, to the conclusion of its treatment of the Archivo Historico Nacional at Madrid.

Francisco Codera has published a second series of *Estudios Críticos de Historia Arabe Española* (Madrid, Maestre, 1917, pp. 354), which is the eighth volume of the *Colección de Estudios Arabes*.

The Benedictines of Silos are preparing for publication, in their *Fuentes para la Historia de Castilla*, the early documents of the Benedictines of San Salvador de Oña in the province of Burgos, documents of much value and antiquity, extending from the year 822.

One of the decisive battles in the struggle for the Christian recovery of Spain from the Moors is the subject of A. Huici's *Estudio sobre la Campaña de las Navas de Tolosa* (Valencia, Vives Mora, 1916, pp. 196).

An endeavor is being made to raise a fund for restoring the monastery of La Rabida, celebrated in the history of Columbus, to something of its former state. Funds may be sent to Mrs. Bernhard Whishaw, Niebla, Spain.

Under the copyright of the Hispanic Society of America Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons have published an intelligent, fully illustrated volume on the *Spanish Architecture of the Sixteenth Century: a General View of the Plateresque and Herrera Styles*, by Arthur Byne and Mildred Stapley, based on personal study of the monuments of a very impressive architectural development.

Father J. Zarco Cuevas is the editor of the first volume of *Documentos para la Historia del Monasterio de San Lorenzo el Real de El Escorial*, which contains the *Memorias de Fray Antonio de Villacastín, Monje Jerónimo de dicho Monasterio* (Madrid, Imp. Helénica, 1916, pp. xvi, 102), dealing with the times of Philip II. Father M. F. Miguélez has edited the first volume, dealing with historical narrative, of a *Catálogo de los Códices Españoles de la Biblioteca de El Escorial* (*ibid.*, 1917, pp. xlix, 364), which cites various items relating to America.

The volume of *Estudios de Historia Aragonesa, Siglos XVI. y XVII.* (Saragossa, Ediciones Aragonesas, 1916, pp. 319), by A. Giménez Soler, deals with the readjustments in Aragon in the reign of Philip II. and their causes and effects.

The *Historia de los Ejércitos Gallegos durante la Guerra de la Independencia* (Santiago, Tip. del Eco Franciscano, 1916, pp. viii, 255) is the work of F. Estrada Catoyra.

J. del Nido y Segalera is the author of an *Historia Política y Parlamentaria de S. A. Don Baldomero Fernández Espartero* (Madrid, Imp. de Ramona Velasco, 1916, pp. 833).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Dorez, *Nouvelles Recherches sur Michel-Ange et son Entourage*, I. (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, November); G. Pardi, *Disegno della Storia Demografica di Firenze* [concl.] (Archivio Storico Italiano, 1916, I. 2); Antonio de Herrera, *Elogio de Vaca de Castro* (Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos, January-June).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Rev. Edwin J. Auweiler, O.F.M., has taken for the subject of his doctoral work at the Catholic University of America the Chronicle of Friar Jordan of Giano, chief source for the earliest chapters in the history of the Franciscans in Germany. In spite of the excellence of Boehmer's edition of 1908, there is room for a good edition appealing to the general reader, accompanied by a translation into English. Father Auweiler prints as his dissertation (Washington, 1917, pp. 64) the introduction, apparatus criticus, and bibliography to his proposed edition, of which the Latin text and English translation will follow later.

Volume VI. of Professor Hartman Grisar's *Luther*, translated by E. M. Lamond and edited by Luigi Cappadelta, has appeared from the press of Messrs. Kegan Paul.

Dr. Thomas F. A. Smith's *The Soul of Germany: a Twelve Years' Study of the People from Within* (New York, George H. Doran Company) is an attempt, by one who spent the dozen years preceding the war as student and as lecturer in the University of Erlangen, to depict the development of the German character and its relation to the historical evolution of the country.

The German Road to the East (New York, Doran, 1917, pp. 340), by Evans Lewin, furnishes an account of the "Drang nach Osten" and of Teutonic aims in the Near and Middle East.

The law thesis of B. Couget deals with *Les Colonies Allemandes avant et pendant la Guerre, 1914-1917* (Toulouse, Rivière, 1917, pp. 174).

The recent Austro-Hungarian Red Book presents diplomatic correspondence of the period from July 22, 1914, to August 27, 1916, including especially that of Count Czernin, who during that period represented Austro-Hungary at Bucharest.

Gottfried Beck claims to give information derived from an agent of the Austro-Hungarian secret service in *Ungarns Rolle im Weltkrieg: eine Historisch-Politische Studie nebst Enthüllungen über den Oester-*

reichisch-Ungarischen Geheimdienst und die Sarajewoer Verschwörung auf Grund von Persönlichen Erlebnissen des Kroaten Rud. Bartulitch (Lausanne and Paris, Payot, 1917, pp. 246).

J. Escher and P. Schweizer have edited an *Urkundenbuch der Stadt und Landschaft Zürich, 1319-1325* (Zürich, Beer, 1916, pp. ii, 409).

A biographical account of *Le Bienheureux Nicolas de Flüe, Patron de la Confédération Helvétique, 1417-1487* (Fribourg, Imp. de l'Oeuvre de Saint-Paul, 1916, pp. iv, 112) has been written by Alfonso Codaghengo.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Commandant Weil, *La Morale Politique du Grand Frédéric d'après sa Correspondance*, V. (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXI. 1); H. Welschinger, *Le Prince de Bülow et la Politique Allemande* (Revue Deux Mondes, May 1).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The Danish narrative of J. Jörgensen on the invasion of Belgium has been translated by Jacques Coussange as *Dans l'Extrême Belgique* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1917, pp. 215). *La Belgique sous les Armes, sous la Botte, en Exil* (Paris, Perrin, 1917), by L. Piérard, adds to an account of the German conquest briefer sections on the conditions under German military domination, and on the Belgians in exile.

The German Fury in Belgium, by L. Mokveld, translated from the Dutch (New York, George H. Doran Company), relates the experiences of one who was correspondent in Belgium, during the German invasion, of the Dutch newspaper *De Tijd*, and who narrates with calmness what he saw of the conduct of the invaders as they swept through the country.

Jean Massart has written a volume on the interesting subject of *La Presse Clandestine dans la Belgique Occupée* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917, pp. xi, 319), which is on sale for the profit of the relief enterprises.

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

In our review of Gade's *Charles the Twelfth* (XXII. 705) the statement is made that the qualities of the book "suggest the historical novelist rather than the orthodox historical biographer". It is proper to state that in reality the work is a piece of fiction, Colonel Klingspor being a fictitious character.

The correspondence of Alexander I. and his sister Catherine, edited by the Grand Duke Nicholas and translated by Henry Havelock, has now been published by Messrs. Jarrolds. Its chief interest is in the light it casts on Alexander's character.

Madame Olga Novikoff's *Russian Memories* (New York, E. P. Dutton) is a record of important and interesting relations in the eighties

and nineties by one who has long had much fame and a useful position as a worker in England for *rapprochement* between that country and her own.

In *Histoire de la Révolution Russe* by "S. R." (Berger-Levrault), the story of modern Russia down to May of the present year is related briefly but with clearness and understanding. Mr. I. D. Levine, foreign news editor of the New York *Tribune*, is also the author of a volume on recent Russian history (Harper and Brothers).

The John Lane Company has published, under the title *The Rebirth of Russia*, an account of the Russian Revolution by Mr. Isaac F. Marcosson, who arrived in Petrograd during the days of its inception.

Gregor Alexinsky has supplemented his volumes on *Modern Russia* (1914) and on *Russia and the Great War* (1915) with *Russia and Europe* (New York, Scribner, 1917, pp. 352), which describes the material bonds between Russia and Europe, the position of Russia in European wars and the influence of Western ideas upon the government and literature of Russia.

Some account of the antecedents of the recent revolution in Russia will be found in *Comment est née la Révolution Russe* (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1917), by Jacques Bainville.

Two correspondents of the *Viedomosti* of Moscow, A. Belevsky and B. Voronoff, have given an account of activities of the zemstvos and municipalities and of the unofficial or quasi-official organizations in their efforts to aid in the conduct of the war, especially before the Revolution, in *Les Organisations Publiques Russes et leur Rôle pendant la Guerre* (Paris, Hachette, 1917).

The Polish Review, a quarterly edited by J. H. Harley (London, Allen and Unwin, 8s. per annum) made its initial appearance in January. Unlike many periodicals which have sprung into existence during the present war, this one appears in the substantial format of the standard British reviews, while the contents of the first two numbers indicate a solidity of character beyond that of a mere organ of propaganda. Though many of the articles are of interest to the student of history, naturally only a limited number are primarily historical in character.

Poland's Case for Independence (Dodd, Mead, and Company) is a collection of essays by various authors, some of which are of considerable merit, treating such subjects as the Population of the Polish Commonwealth, Poland as an Independent Economic Unit, and Poland's Struggle for Independence. Mr. Edward H. Lewinski's *Political History of Poland*, published by the Polish Book Importing Company, deals, as its title indicates, more exclusively with Polish history.

Mr. Chedomille Mijatovich, who for years has been closely connected with the Serbian government, in *The Memoirs of a Balkan Diplomatist* reports with detail and with apparent candor the events of his official life.

In *Les Bulgares peints par eux-mêmes, Documents et Commentaires* (Paris, Payot, 1917), Victor Kuhne has compiled from official and other public utterances or writings of statesmen, and from the writings of journalists and publicists Bulgarian expressions of policies or aims regarding the fate of Constantinople, relations with Serbia, the questions of the Yougoslavs and of the Balkans, and the European situation. The same author, who as a Swiss claims to write with impartiality, has also issued *Ceux dont on Ignore le Martyre: les Yougoslaves et la Guerre* (Geneva, Kundig, 1917, pp. 299), which is a survey of the development since 1903, with special reference to the Austrian trials of alleged Serbian offenders since 1909.

An *Histoire Moderne des Arméniens depuis la Chute du Royaume jusqu'à nos Jours, 1375-1916* (Paris, Gamber, 1917, pp. viii, 176) is a convenient summary of events by K. L. Basmadian.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. W. Bienstock, *Les Premiers Jours de la Révolution et les Derniers Jours de la Cour de Russie* (*Mercure de France*, June 1); A. Gauvain, *La Révolution Russe et la Démocratie* (*Revue de Paris*, May 1); E. Romer, *Poland, the Land and the State, the Physical Basis of Poland's History* (*Geographical Review*, July); L. Leger, *La Bataille de Kosovo et la Chute de l'Empire Serbe* (*Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, November); S. P. Duggan, *Balkan Diplomacy*, II. (*Political Science Quarterly*, June); P. P. de Sokolovitch, *Les Rapports Serbo-Roumains, Passé-Présent-Avenir* (*Revue des Sciences Politiques*, June); *id.*, *Le Mirage Bulgare et la Guerre Européenne*, I. (*Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, XXXI. 1); A. Gauvain, *La Question Grecque* (*Revue de Paris*, June 1, July 1, 15).

THE FAR EAST AND INDIA

China: her History, Diplomacy, and Commerce from the Earliest Times to the Present Day, by E. H. Parker, professor of Chinese in the Victoria University at Manchester, was first published in 1901. A thoroughly revised edition of this standard work, with three additional chapters extending to the present time, is nearly ready for publication by John Murray.

Mr. W. J. Clennell, of the British consular service, has in *The Historical Development of Religion in China* (London, T. Fisher Unwin) achieved a readable and sympathetic presentation of his subject-matter, making no pretension to original research.

The detailed scientific report of Sir Aurel Stein's Second Central Asian Expedition (1906-1908) is to be published under the authority of the Secretary of State for India, in four quarto volumes. Partial reports concerning the Third Expedition (1913-1916) show that it revealed antiquities of great interest, especially a wonderful variety of silk and other fabrics, and records on wood and paper, found at the early Chinese and indigenous burial grounds near the ruined city of Lou-Lan in Eastern Turkestan.

A reprint which makes available a wealth of information on the history and customs of Rajputana is that of Colonel Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han*, first published between 1829 and 1832, now brought out in two volumes by Messrs. Dutton.

Les Origines de Mahé de Malabar (Paris, Champion, 1917, pp. xvi, 319) is a reprint from the *Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises* of an account of the establishment of one of the important French posts in India, by Alfred Martineau, the present governor of French India.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Wen-Sze King, *The Lease Conventions between China and the Foreign Powers: an Interpretation* (Chinese Social and Political Science Review, December); M. Besson, *L'Expansion Japonaise dans le Monde* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, June).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The first volume of Dr. Frances G. Davenport's *European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies*, extending through 1648, awaits, before publication by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, only the setting up and printing of the index. Mr. Leland and Mr. Stock of the Department of Historical Research have been occupied throughout the past three months with work for the National Board for Historical Service, of which the former is secretary. The Department hopes to send to the printer before long the first two volumes of Dr. Burnett's *Letters of Delegates to the Continental Congress*.

Among recent accessions of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress are: additional papers of Nicholas P. Trist, 1810-1867; miscellaneous drafts, memoranda, journals, and notes of Joel R. Poinsett on South American countries and his visits to them; photostat prints of 52 broadsides, 1693-1861, and of Jefferson's expense books, 1783-1790, in the Massachusetts Historical Society; account books of a merchant of Goochland Court House, Va., 1833-1876; miscellaneous letters to Israel Washburn, 1854-1885; the Andrew Jackson Donelson Papers; letters and orders to and from Leonidas Polk, 1861-1864; photostat copies of volume I. of the papers of Daniel Claus, 1716-1777, from the original in the Public Archives of Canada; miscellaneous legal

papers, drafts, letters, etc., of Alexander Hamilton (about 150 pieces); account and vouchers of the expenses of the Florida revolution of 1810, together with the minutes of the revolutionary constitutional convention and proceedings of the revolutionary legislature; a memorandum book of Thomas Jefferson, legal and household matters, 1768-1770; the J. C. Bancroft Davis Papers, 1851-1902; the day-book and ledger of Attorney-General Charles Lee, 1800-1815; a diary of Thomas Worthington, 1809-1810; and, on deposit, a small miscellany of Washington manuscripts.

The celebrated library of Americana which was formed by Bishop White Kennett, of Peterborough, and which in 1712 he presented to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, a library rich in rarities, has lately been sold at Sotheby's for the benefit of the society.

No. 4 of Mr. Clarence M. Burton's series of pamphlets, *Manuscripts from the Burton Historical Collection*, contains, reprinted from the *London Chronicle*, a narrative of the adventures of Peter Lewney, captured by the French and Indians in western Virginia in 1756 and taken to Detroit and Niagara; a petition of Daniel Boone (1810), from the files of the United States Senate; the adventures, from the *Analectic Magazine* of 1815, of Henry Bird, made captive by the Indians in Ohio in 1811; and a continuation of the Harrison documents from the archives of the War Department, relating to Indiana in 1807. It is pleasant to learn that Mr. Burton has received sufficient encouragement to cause him to continue his interesting series through at least four more numbers.

In the July number of the *Journal of Negro History* Mr. John M. Mecklin continues his valuable study of the evolution of slave status in American democracy, Professor Henry N. Sherwood gives from original materials the history of the formation of the American Colonization Society, and Mrs. Mary C. Terrell, a member of the school board of Washington, D. C., that of the high school for negroes in that city. The document section is occupied with an interesting body of extracts respecting the Danish West Indies, relating especially to the history of negro slavery in those islands and preceded by an historical article on the subject by Leila A. Pendleton.

The January-February number of the *Magazine of History* includes a paper entitled the Putnams: a Study of American Heroes, by Rev. Warren P. Landers, and a letter of Washington written in 1762. In the March-April number is printed, under the title New York during the Revolution, a body of letters, chiefly correspondence between Washington and the Clintons, but including also letters of Schuyler, Duane, William Whipple, and others. France's Aid to America in the War of Independence, by Richard H. Clarke, is reprinted from the *American Catholic*

Quarterly Review. The papers by Winfield M. Thompson, entitled When Washington toured New England, are continued. The May-June number of the *Magazine* contains the concluding installments of New York during the Revolution: Selections from the Clinton Correspondence, 1776-1783, and Joel N. Eno's Pennsylvania County Names; further installments of Winfield M. Thompson's When Washington toured New England, and Gen. Philip Reade's Massachusetts at Valley Forge. There are also articles on Virginia Folk-Lore about George Washington, by John S. Wise, the Minute Men of the Revolution, by Rev. Howard Duffield, and George Washington's Ancestors, by William C. Wells.

Frédéric Notte has prepared for French readers an *Histoire des États-Unis d'Amérique depuis les Temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos Jours* (Paris, Perrin, 1917).

The Arthur H. Clark Company is publishing *A Social History of the American Family from Colonial Times to the Present*, by Arthur W. Calhoun. The work will consist of three volumes, of which the first, relating to the colonial period, is issued now.

Three new volumes of the *Yale Historical Publications*, just issued by the Yale University Press, are: *The Development of the British West Indies, 1700-1763* (pp. 475), by Dr. Frank W. Pitman of the Sheffield Scientific School; *The Readjuster Movement in Virginia* (pp. 191), by Professor Charles C. Pearson of Wake Forest College; and *The History of Legislative Methods in the Period before 1825* (pp. 269), by Dr. Ralph V. Harlow of Simmons College.

Volume III. of *Makers of America*, edited by Leonard Wilson, has come from the press (Washington, B. F. Johnson).

A History of Transportation in the United States before 1860, prepared under the direction of Dr. Balthasar H. Meyer, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, by Caroline E. MacGill and a staff of collaborators, is published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, being one of the Institution's *Contributions to American Economic History* from the Department of Economics and Sociology.

The University of Chicago Press has brought out *A History of the Australian Ballot System in the United States*, by Eldon C. Evans. An introductory chapter describes and discusses the manner of voting in different sections of the United States before the introduction of the Australian ballot system, and other chapters treat of the origin and development of the system in its several aspects and of the attitude of the courts toward the system. An appendix contains the text of the original Australian ballot act, and another includes a bibliography and a table of cases.

Collective Bargaining in the Lithographic Industry is a study by Dr. H. E. Hoagland, of the University of Illinois, included among the *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*.

The May-August number of the *German-American Annals* contains the opening chapters of a study, by Clement Vollmer, of the American Novel in Germany, 1871-1913, and the concluding portion of Alfred H. Nolle's study of the German Drama on the St. Louis stage.

Rear-Admiral Preble's *History and Origin of the American Flag*, some time out of print, has been republished by Nicholas L. Brown of Philadelphia.

Latin America and the United States is the title given to the latest volume in the collection of the addresses of Elihu Root, edited by Robert Bacon and James Brown Scott and published by the Harvard University Press.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

The Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles has issued a volume of *Relaciones Históricas de América, Primera Mitad del Siglo XVI*. (Madrid, Imp. Ibérica, 1916, pp. cxliii, 240).

Nos. 210, 211, and 212 of *Old South Leaflets*, all edited by Dr. S. E. Morison, present respectively William Knox's *The Controversy between Great Britain and her Colonies Reviewed* (London, 1769); a body of contemporary documents by John Quincy Adams and others, American and British, on the treaty of Ghent; and the text of the treaty itself, with some supplementary documents.

To volume XIX. of the *Publications* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, a volume not yet published, Professor Charles M. Andrews contributes an important and thoroughgoing article of a hundred pages, of which we have received a "separate", on Boston Merchants and the Non-Importation Agreement.

Messrs. E. P. Dutton and Company publish this autumn *Paul Jones and his Exploits in English Seas, 1778 to 1780*, by Mr. Don C. Seitz, business manager of the *New York World*, who has collected from English newspapers of that time, and from other sources, accounts of Jones's raids along the English coast. The book will contain a special bibliography of its hero.

Mr. E. Alfred Jones of the Temple, London, has in preparation a collection, in two volumes, of *Biographies of the Officers of the Loyalist Regiments of America*, which will embrace biographical and genealogical details based largely on unpublished material, respecting more than a thousand Loyalist officers, and will be issued to subscribers only. Orders may be sent to the St. Catherine Press, Stamford Street, London, S. E.

The June *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library prints from among the library's manuscripts a journal of the celebrated commerce-destroying cruise of the United States brig *Argus* of 1813, from the journal of the surgeon, James Inderwick.

The Smithsonian Institution has recently acquired the manuscript journal kept by Capt. Edward Trenchard, U. S. N., during his service on the West African coast, 1820-1821, in command of the *Cyane*.

Dr. Bernard Steiner of the Enoch Pratt Free Library and the Johns Hopkins University is preparing a life of Chief Justice Taney. He would be greatly obliged if any persons who possess letters of Taney would lend them to him, to be copied and promptly returned.

The Johns Hopkins University Press is soon to publish the Albert Shaw Lectures recently delivered by Professor Payson J. Treat, under the title *The Early Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Japan, 1853-1865*.

Mr. Henry E. Shepherd of Baltimore is the author and publisher of a *Narrative of Prison Life at Baltimore and Johnson's Island, Ohio* (pp. 22).

James Monroe Buckley, by Dr. George Preston Mains (New York, Methodist Book Concern), relates the life of one who was a conspicuous leader in the Methodist Church during the last fifty years and an excellent student and writer of its history.

Messrs. Harper and Brothers will publish in the early autumn a new volume in the *American Nation* series edited by Professor A. B. Hart. The book, written by Professor F. A. Ogg of the University of Wisconsin, covers the history of the United States from 1907 to 1917.

Stanton and Van Vliet of Chicago have published a collection of thirty speeches and thirty-two diplomatic letters and documents of President Wilson with the title *President Wilson's Great Speeches; and Other History-Making Documents*.

Carl Bitter, a Biography (University of Chicago Press), a small volume by Professor Ferdinand Schevill, brother-in-law of that eminent sculptor, describes a career notable not only for artistic achievement, but for its exhibition of organizing ability, of public spirit, and of ardor for the promotion of American ideals on the part of one of foreign (Austrian) origin.

THE UNITED STATES IN THE WAR

In the *War Information* series published by the Committee on Public Information six pamphlets have now been published, all having in greater or less degree an historical aspect. The first, *The War Message and Facts behind It*, has already been mentioned in our July number.

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The second, *The Nation in Arms*, contains addresses by Secretaries Lane and Baker. The third is a brief description of the government of Germany by Professor Charles D. Hazen. No. 4 is Professor McLaughlin's paper *The Great War: from Spectator to Participant*, already mentioned on its appearance in the *History Teacher's Magazine*. No. 5, *A War of Self-Defense*, consists of Secretary Lansing's notable address, "America's Future at Stake", and one by Assistant-Secretary Post on "The German Attack". No. 6, *American Loyalty, by Citizens of German Descent*, is a collection of characteristic expressions, also brought out in German. The committee expects before long to bring out a new edition of no. 1; a "war dictionary" for speakers and others, by Professors Corwin and Paxson; "American Expressions of Sympathy with Liberal Europe", by Professor E. B. Greene; a collection of diplomatic documents in the case against Germany, edited by Professor G. G. Wilson; and a pamphlet by Professor Wallace Notestein on Pan-Germanism.

The Oxford University Press announces for early publication, on behalf of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, a volume entitled *The American View of the War against the Imperial German Government, based upon Official Documents*, by Dr. James Brown Scott, secretary of the Endowment.

Former Ambassador Gerard has written an account of his experiences in Germany which is announced by the George H. Doran Company under the title *My Four Years in Germany*.

A. Viallate dealt with affairs during the first two years of the war and discussed problems of policy in *Les États-Unis d'Amérique et le Conflit Européen* (Paris, Alcan, 1916). Gabriel Alphaud, who dealt with an early phase in *L'Action Allemande aux États-Unis* (1915), has now published *Les États-Unis contre l'Allemagne* (Paris, Payot, 1917). The two works contain the texts of all the pertinent presidential addresses and other important public documents and form a better account of the relations between the United States and Germany from August, 1914, to April, 1917, than any yet available in English. President Wilson's peace and war addresses and messages are collected in French translation in a thirty-centimes pamphlet (Paris, Bossard, 1917). F. Maurette has written *Ce que les États-Unis nous Apportent, des Aliements, du Matériel, des Navires, de l'Or, des Hommes, d'Autres Alliés* (Paris, Hachette, 1917).

No. 15 in the series *International Conciliation: Documents regarding the European War* presents the main documents respecting the entrance of the United States into the war: President Wilson's address of April 2, the joint resolution of Congress of April 6, the President's proclamation of the same date, Mayor Mitchel's proclamation, and the President's address to his fellow-countrymen, April 16.

The Library of Congress issues a pamphlet entitled *The United States at War: Organizations and Literature* (pp. 115), compiled under the direction of Mr. H. H. B. Meyer, chief bibliographer. It presents a list of many public, semi-public, and voluntary organizations functioning in the present emergency or brought into existence to aid the government therein, and describes their activities, with many bibliographical references.

Mr. Lindsay Rogers's *America's Case against Germany* (New York, E. P. Dutton) is not merely an argumentative book, but presents, in brief compass, much historical matter of fact.

Some light on the conditions surrounding the entrance of the United States into the Great War may be gleaned from W. E. Weyl's *American World Policies* (Macmillan, 1917, pp. 307); Arthur Gleason's *Our Part in the Great War* (Stokes, 1917, pp. 338); and Arthur Bullard's *Mobilizing America* (Macmillan, 1917, pp. 129), all published before the declaration of war; and from Senator H. C. Lodge's *War Addresses, 1915-1917* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1917, pp. viii, 303).

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

The library of the Maine Historical Society, of Portland, has lately received valuable original records dealing with the early history of the towns of Gray and North Yarmouth; also, on deposit, the manuscript records, 1701-1848, of the second oldest church in Maine—the First Church of Christ (Congregational), of Wells.

The History of Jericho, Vermont, is a good-sized volume edited by an historical committee, composed of Chauncey H. Hayden, Luther C. Stevens, Lafayette Wilbur, and Rev. S. H. Barnum (Burlington, Free Press).

In the May serial of the Massachusetts Historical Society there are two valuable contributions, a review of General McClellan's conduct as a commander in the Civil War, by Col. Thomas L. Livermore, and a detailed survey, by Mr. Samuel E. Morison, of the struggle over the adoption of the constitution of Massachusetts in 1780. Especial attention should be called to the latter article because, by its thorough and detailed study of the action of individual towns (townships), it carries out within its field a process which deserves wide extension in the history of the American Revolution, and which has been so fruitfully pursued in the case of the French Revolution, the examination of those currents of local opinion out of which the main drift of development was constituted and without which it cannot be rightly understood.

Twenty-five Years of Massachusetts Politics, from Russell to McCall, 1890-1915, by M. E. Hennessey, with a foreword by Senator Henry

Cabot Lodge, is a chronological record of political events in Massachusetts, with their bearing upon national politics pointed out (Boston, Practical Politics).

The Essex Institute is now in possession of all the abstracts and copies of English records made by the late Henry FitzGilbert Waters, Lothrop Withington, and J. Henry Lea. The collection, representing the gleanings of the better part of a lifetime in the case of each of these three experts in genealogical research, is by far the largest collection of abstracts from English genealogical records to be found in America, embracing 50,000 wills, alphabetically arranged, copies or abstracts of the registers of over 600 parishes, a name-index to the Chancery proceedings in more than 75,000 cases, and the like. Much of the matter is in such shape that it can be consulted, free, in the library of the Institute; for the rest, the services of a skilled genealogist attached to the Institute staff are available.

The Institute has brought out, in a limited edition of 300 copies, the first of a series of volumes of the *Probate Records of Essex County, Massachusetts*. In this volume (pp. xvi, 526) all wills and inventories from 1635 to 1664 are printed in full, with full abstracts of all documents relating to the settlement of the estate. The material is derived from every available original source, both in the Massachusetts archives and in those of the county. The collection is of inestimable value to the social and economic history of early Massachusetts. The index is exceptionally elaborate.

The *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute* for July contains Remarks on a Voyage in 1801 to the Island of Guam, by William Haswell, first officer of the American barque *Lydia*; some letters of Rev. Ezekiel Rogers and others, 1626-1647, from the British Museum, and an account of the grantees and settlement of Hampton, N. H., by V. C. Sanborn.

Mr. Francis B. C. Bradley's *The Eastern Railroad: an Historical Account of Early Railroading in Eastern New England*, which has appeared in sections in the *Historical Collections* of the Essex Institute, as noted from time to time in these pages, has now been brought out as a volume (Salem, Essex Institute, 1917, pp. 107), and constitutes a most valuable contribution to American railroad history.

The Essex Institute has also published, as a separate volume of 167 pages, *Gravestone Inscriptions and Records of Tomb Burials in the Central Burying Ground, Boston Common, and Inscriptions in the South Burying Ground, Boston, 1756-1878*; and two pamphlets by Thomas Amory Lee, namely, *Colonel Jeremiah Lee, Patriot*, and *Colonel William Raymond Lee of the Revolution*.

The American Antiquarian Society has acquired a file of the *Missouri Gazette*, a very rare newspaper. The file extends from the foundation of the journal in 1809 to 1818. The society has also acquired a set of the *Federal Republican*, of Baltimore, running from 1808 to 1819.

The city of Pittsfield, Mass., has published E. Boltwood's *History of Pittsfield from the Year 1876 to the Year 1916* (pp. 387).

The Connecticut Historical Society has published, in a quarto volume of 229 pages, the *Records of the Connecticut State Society of the Cincinnati* from its origin in 1783 to its dissolution in 1804. The pages of the original are photographically reproduced.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The Division of Archives and History at Albany has ready for print two volumes of translations from the Dutch records of Albany County, by Mr. A. J. F. van Laer, consisting of notarial papers, 1660-1695, deeds, 1658-1660, wills, 1687-1765; also, two volumes of Papers of Sir William Johnson, continuing his correspondence from 1738 through 1762.

The New York Historical Society's *Quarterly Bulletin* for July prints from the archives of the society certain documents relating to the conferring on Washington, in 1785, of the freedom of the city of New York. The society has just issued an *Orderly-Book of De Lancey's Brigade* in the British army, 1776-1778, with an appendix containing a list of New York Loyalists, by Mr. William Kelby. *The Papers and Letters of Cadwallader Colden*, 1710-1775, are being prepared for publication in several volumes of the society's *Publication Fund Series*. Volume L. of this series is now in press, and contains Colden's letters of 1710-1745, rich in material for the history of the province.

The July number of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* continues the vital records of Christ's Church at Rye, the Kings County deeds, and various genealogical records. It also prints, with a facsimile and with annotations, the list of those invited to the funeral of the patroon Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, 1674.

The Development of the Power of the State Executive, with special Reference to the State of New York, by M. C. Alexander, is a recent number of *Smith College Studies in History*.

The report of the canal committee of the chamber of commerce of Buffalo on a *Ship Channel between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario* (pp. 53) contains an historical review of the project. The report was prepared by Mr. Henry W. Hill, chairman of the committee.

The *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society for January contains a paper by the late William Nelson entitled "A Red Rose: Springfield, 1780—and After", being the story of an incident of the

battle of Springfield; an article by Rev. Charles E. Hart on the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church in Newark; some Reminiscences of the War of 1812, reprinted from an old newspaper; a continuation of the Revolutionary pension records of Morris County; and the first installment of the orderly book of Captain Jedediah Swan. The two articles last mentioned are continued in the April number of the *Proceedings*. In the latter number are found also an extended article by William J. Magie entitled *New Light on a Famous Controversy in the History of Elizabethton*, a controversy between the Associates of Elizabethton and the Proprietors of New Jersey over the title to the land on which the town was settled.

The July number of the *Vineland Historical Magazine* is occupied chiefly with continuations of the Journal of Charles K. Landis, Founder of Vineland, and the paper of Mrs. Mary E. Schley concerning Early Settlers of Vineland west of Malaga Road. There is also a letter of Oliver Allen, November 27, 1815, describing a journey from Erie to Marietta, Ohio.

By act of the recent session of the Pennsylvania legislature the functions of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission are extended to include the editing and publication of historical and archaeological material and the conduct of investigations in Pennsylvania history. Provision is also made for a salaried secretary to the commission.

The principal contents of the July number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* are the Orderly Book of General Edward Hand (Valley Forge, January, 1778) and the Journal of Samuel Rowland Fisher of Philadelphia (1779-1781), both of them continuations, and some bibliographical and descriptive notes on the issues of the journal of the Pennsylvania Assembly, 1776-1790, by Augustus H. Shearer. There are also excerpts from the report of the librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania listing accessions to the society's library and collections.

An acceptable volume on the life of William Penn has been produced by John W. Graham in *William Penn, Founder of Pennsylvania* (London, Headley Brothers, 1917, pp. 332).

In the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* for June is an interesting article concerning the Santo Domingo Refugees in Philadelphia. In consequence of the negro insurrections in Santo Domingo, beginning in 1791, many of the white inhabitants of the island fled to Philadelphia and Baltimore. Numerous family papers of these refugees are in the possession of the American Catholic Historical Society, and it is from these papers that this article, by Jane Campbell, has been compiled. How narrowly these valuable papers escaped destruction is related among the "Historical Notes" by Dr. Lawrence F. Flick.

The one hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the first savings bank in the United States has brought forth *A History of the Philadelphia Savings Fund Society, 1816-1916* (Lippincott), by J. M. Wilcox, compiled from documentary records of the bank.

The Beginnings of the German Element in York County, Pennsylvania, by A. R. Wentz, has been brought out in Lancaster (New Era Printing Company).

Mr. George H. Lamb of Braddock, Pa., has edited and publishes *The Unwritten History of Braddock's Field* (pp. 336), prepared by the historical committee for the celebration of the golden jubilee of Braddock, the silver jubilee of Rankin, and the one hundred and seventy-fifth anniversary of the first white settlement west of the Alleghenies. The book deals chiefly with the recent achievements of the community, especially in the development of the steel industry.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

Studies of the Old South by the Present Day Students of a Virginia College is a collection of essays to which have been awarded during the past ten years the George W. Bagby prize of Hampden-Sidney College (Hampden-Sidney, Va., the college).

The June number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* includes an article by Dr. Henry J. Berkley, on Lord Baltimore's Contest with Sir David Kirke over Avalon, notes by Dr. Bernard C. Steiner from some unpublished manuscripts from Fulham Palace relating to provincial Maryland; the proceedings of the Committee of Observation for Elizabeth Town District, September, 1775, to May, 1776; and extracts from the Carroll Papers, April, 1764, to December, 1768.

From notes and incomplete manuscripts of the late Dr. Samuel A. Harrison of Easton, his son-in-law Mr. Oswald Tilghman has compiled an elaborate and valuable *History of Talbot County, Maryland, 1661-1861*, in two volumes (pp. 649, 573), with good indexes—a substantial contribution to the history of the state and especially of the eastern shore, including some fifty biographical memoirs. The book is now to be obtained from the Waverley Press, Baltimore.

In the Virginia archives the rearrangement of the legislative petitions, some 25,000 in number, with accompanying papers, in a general chronology from 1776 to 1865, has been completed in substance. The personal property books recently transferred to the state library by the state auditor have in part been bound. The "archival apprentices" from the senior class in Westhampton College completed in June their first session of work in the archives as an historical laboratory; during the next session the same privilege will be available to the senior history students of Randolph-Macon College. The amount of shelf-space in the archives has been largely increased.

The July number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* includes minutes of the council and general court, 1622-1629, from the originals in the Library of Congress; sundry official documents pertaining to Virginia of the years 1680-1681; a continuation of the letters (1686-1688) of William Byrd, First; and some selections from among the papers transferred in 1913 from the state auditor's office to the state library. The selections include: a letter, December 11, 1777, from William Aylett, deputy commissary-general of purchases for Virginia, to William Lee, and one from Governor Patrick Henry to Lee, December 13, both in regard to supplying the Virginia army and navy; two letters (1781, 1786) of Raleigh Colston, commercial agent for the state of Virginia at Cap François, Santo Domingo, where the first was written; and a contract, made July 21, 1715, between William Dandridge and Lieut.-Gov. Alexander Spotswood to carry troops from Virginia to South Carolina to assist the latter against the Indians.

Messrs. Herbert T. Ezekiel and Gaston Kichtenstein have prepared a volume on *The History of the Jews of Richmond, 1769-1917* (Richmond, Va., H. T. Ezekiel).

In 1912 the Phelps-Stokes Fellowship was founded at the University of Virginia for the purpose of stimulating and conducting investigations concerning the character, condition, and possibilities of the negroes in the Southern States. Such a study is *The Taxation of Negroes in Virginia* (pp. 97), by Tipton R. Snavely, which is issued by the University of Virginia. About one-third of the pamphlet is devoted to an examination into the history of the capitation tax as applied to and affecting the negro. The real estate tax is however regarded by the author as of chief importance inasmuch as it is the principal source of all taxes paid by negroes. This part of the study is also of greater interest for the light it throws on negro life in Virginia. The personal property and the income taxes are of less importance. Such a specialized investigation is valuable for the study of conditions among the negroes.

The North Carolina legislature of 1917 made an increase of \$2000 in the annual appropriation for the maintenance of the North Carolina Historical Commission. The legislature also appropriated to the commission \$2500 a year for the next two years to be used by it in marking historic sites in North Carolina. The commission is authorized to appropriate from this fund \$100 for each marker, provided a like sum is raised from other sources. To its collections the commission has added 351 miscellaneous manuscripts including letters from several Confederate generals and a number of North Carolina statesmen. A large collection of the family letters of the James K. Polk family has been secured. To the collection of papers of Governor David S. Reid previously reported, have been added 248 pieces. Other additions are:

four letter-books of Charles P. Bolles, of the U. S. Coast Survey, containing 648 letters, memoranda, notes, etc., relating to the work of the Coast Survey, 1846-1855; letters of J. M. Worth, state salt commissioner during the Civil War, relating to the state salt works at Wilmington; 40 bound volumes of Wilmington newspapers, 1861-1881; 1042 North Carolina items, 1731-1795, from issues of the *South Carolina Gazette* and other early papers of South Carolina; local records from Edgecombe and Halifax counties; and from Chowan County a large collection of valuable early colonial papers, including journals of the general assembly, records of the vice-admiralty court, etc.

The North Carolina Historical Commission prints the *Proceedings* of the seventeenth annual session of the State Literary and Historical Association. It contains an address on Edward Livingston by Ex-President Taft, and historical essays on the Sovereign State of North Carolina, 1787-1789, by W. W. Pierson, jr., on Suffrage in North Carolina, by W. S. Wilson, and on the history of Crime and Punishment in North Carolina, by Thomas M. Pittman.

The North Carolina Council of Defense has, like some of the other state councils, included in its plan of organization an Historical Committee. Mr. R. D. W. Connor of Raleigh, its chairman, has prepared a leaflet on the work of the committee, which contains many suggestions applicable to similar work elsewhere.

Economic and Social History of Chowan County, North Carolina, 1880-1915, by W. Scott Boyce, is no. 179 of *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*.

The James Sprunt Historical Publications, vol. XVI., no. 1, is *A Colonial History of Rowan County, North Carolina*, by Samuel J. Ervin, jr. Rowan County originally included the northern part of the Piedmont and mountain sections of North Carolina, therefore this sketch relates not only to the region around Salisbury (the seat of the present Rowan County), but to the larger part of the western end of the state.

The South Carolina Historical Commission has published as *Bulletin No. 4* George Hunter's map of the Cherokee Country and the Path thereto in 1730 with comments by A. S. Salley, Jr., secretary of the commission.

Mr. Henry A. M. Smith contributes to the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* a study of the Orange Quarter and the First French Settlers in South Carolina. Among the letters of John Rutledge, annotated by Joseph W. Barnwell, there are in this number of the *Magazine* six addressed to the South Carolina delegates in Congress, January to September, 1781, chiefly concerning military events. There is also a brief letter from General Greene to Rutledge concerning the action at Eutaw Springs.

The following articles are found in the June number of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly*: James Mackay of Strathy Hall, Comrade in Arms of George Washington, by William Harden; the Boundary between Georgia and South Carolina, by George Hillyer; Fort Pulaski, by C. H. Olmstead; and Historic Spots in Summerville, by Lawton B. Evans.

M. Serrano Sanz has brought out as a small separate volume his articles in the *Boletín* of the Archives of the Indies on *España y los Indios Cheroquis y Chactas en la Segunda Mitad del Siglo XVIII*. (Seville, Tip. de la Guía Oficial, 1916, pp. 92), a useful contribution to the history of the Indian problem and of the southwestern territory in the early days of the United States.

The Historical Society of East and West Baton Rouge issued in August the first volume of its annual proceedings. The Louisiana State University has reissued this as the August number of the *University Bulletin*.

Among the articles in the May number of the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* are: the Alleged Secession of Kentucky, by A. C. Quisenberry; Lincoln, Jefferson Davis, and Francis Preston Blair, by Gist Blair; and History of Education in Kentucky, by Martha Stephenson.

The Filson Club has brought out a study, by Mary Verhoeff, of the Kentucky River in regard to improvements, commerce, and mountain traffic. The volume bears the title *The Kentucky River Navigation*.

The *Tennessee Historical Magazine* for July contains the concluding installment of Professor St. George L. Sioussat's study of the beginning of railroad transportation in the Old Southwest, entitled Memphis as a Gateway to the West, and also that of W. A. Provine's Lardner Clark, Nashville's First Merchant and Foremost Citizen. The documents consist of letters from the Donelson Papers, edited by Professor Sioussat.

A *History of Sweetwater Valley* (Tenn.), by W. B. Lenoir, is published in Sweetwater, Tenn., by the author.

WESTERN STATES

The annual historical volume published by the Lakewood Press of Chicago for distribution at Christmas time will this year consist of a reprint, edited by M. M. Quaife, of the Indian captivity narrative of the Rev. Oliver M. Spencer, first published in the *Western Christian Advocate* of Cincinnati in 1835. The narrative was several times reprinted in book form, with more or less fidelity to the original, during the next few years.

The Veto Power of the Governor of Illinois (pp. 149), by Dr. Niels H. Debel, constituting vol. VI., nos. 1 and 2, of the *University of Illi-*

nois Studies in the Social Sciences, is a thoroughgoing study in a field that has been but indifferently cultivated. As a necessary approach to the immediate subject of investigation Dr. Debel traces the general development of the veto power in the American colonies and states. He then treats the development and operation of the veto power in Illinois in three stages: the period from 1818 to 1848, when the veto power resided in a council of revision constituted of the governor and judges, the suspensive veto under the constitution of 1848, and the power as exercised under the constitution of 1870.

In July the Michigan Historical Commission began the publication of the *Michigan Historical Magazine*, excellent in appearance and in contents. The latter include a sketch of the life of Judge Isaac Marston, justice of the state supreme court from 1875 to 1883, by William L. Clements, a member of the commission; an address on the Field for the Historian in the Upper Peninsula, by the Very Rev. Dr. F. X. Barth, dean of Escanaba; a history of the first bank in Michigan (the Detroit Bank, created in 1806), by William L. Jenks of the commission; and an account of the centenary of the settlement of Oakland County, the first county to hold a centennial celebration, by Mrs. L. D. Avery. The magazine abounds in news of historical progress in the state, especially on the part of county history societies. It is intended to serve both as a bulletin for such news and as a medium for the publication of historical papers, hitherto chiefly published in the *Michigan Historical Collections*. In place of the latter, the commission will hereafter publish two distinct series, a "Documentary Series", for homogeneous volumes of original material, and a "University Series" of monographs. The first of the latter is *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan: a Study of the Settlement of the Lower Peninsula during the Territorial Period, 1805-1837*, by G. N. Fuller, secretary of the commission. The October *Magazine* will contain war letters of Hon. Washington Gardner, a history of St. Mary's parish, in Marshall, by Rev. Father James Cahalan, an account of government survey and charting of the Great Lakes, by John Fitzgibbon, and two articles on the Holland Emigration to Michigan, by Hon. Gerrit Van Schelven and Hon. Gerrit J. Diekema.

The Michigan Historical Commission has recently begun an inventory of the state archives, looking toward their systematic organization. It has completed a descriptive list of the papers of Austin Blair, Michigan's "war governor", a collection comprising some 11,000 items, recently acquired by Mr. C. M. Burton. This list will be printed in the *Magazine*. The commission has acquired an important series of photographs of maps having a bearing on the Michigan-Ohio boundary line.

The Library of the University of Michigan invites subscriptions to a photographic facsimile of the *Kentucky Gazette* (Lexington, 1787-1800), the first newspaper published west of the Alleghany Mountains, and a foremost source for Western history in its period. The reproduc-

tion, made from the unique file in the Public Library of Lexington, will be offered in 14 volumes bound in buckram, at a price of not more than \$775. Similarly, the Michigan Historical Commission invites subscriptions to a photographic facsimile, in 13 volumes, at \$750, or less, of a set of the *Detroit Gazette* (1817-1830), as complete as can be made from the file in the Burton Historical Collection, supplemented by the use of other files. Subscriptions to either set may be sent to W. W. Bishop, librarian of the University of Michigan.

In a study of *Party Organization and Machinery in Michigan since 1890* (*Johns Hopkins University Studies*, XXXV. 3, pp. 189) Professor Arthur C. Millspaugh of Whitman College presents in excellent fashion all the essential data on an important subject in respect to which Michigan is not far from a typical case; yet it is to be wished that similar thorough histories should be made for other states.

The initial number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* has been announced for publication in September. The magazine will appear quarterly and each number is to contain about one hundred pages. Leading articles in the initial number are, Increase Allen Lapham: First Scholar of Wisconsin, by M. M. Quaife; Bankers' Aid in 1861-1862, by Louise P. Kellogg; Forest Fires in Northern Wisconsin, by J. L. Bracklin; and the Diary of Harvey Reid, kept at Madison in the spring of 1861 (document). Aside from these articles, there are departments devoted respectively to editorials, to historical queries, and to "historical fragments", and finally a survey of historical activities.

Mr. Theodore C. Blegen of the Riverside High School, Milwaukee, has spent the summer in the employ of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin in the preparation of a comprehensive report on the archives situation in Wisconsin. It is expected that this report will be published by the society later in the year. The annual address before the society at the coming meeting in October will be given by Professor Paxson of the University of Wisconsin.

Miss Genevieve Mills of Madison, who died at the close of 1916, bequeathed to the Wisconsin State Historical Society her half interest in the parental homestead, supposed to amount to about \$25,000, as a perpetual fund, to be devoted to the editing of material for middle western history.

In *Oberst Heg og Hans Gutter* (Eau Claire, 1916, pp. 327) Mr. Waldemar Ager has collected and edited letters and diaries, written by members of the Fifteenth Wisconsin Regiment, a regiment of Norwegians, commanded by Colonel Heg, who was killed at Chickamauga.

Solomon Juneau, who is commonly looked upon as the first settler of Milwaukee, came to the site of the future city in 1818. Elaborate preparations are under way looking to the suitable celebration, by means

of an historical pageant and otherwise, of the centenary of Juneau's coming.

Mr. Lucius C. Coleman of La Crosse has reprinted by photomechanical process from the copy in the Wisconsin Historical Library the rare *Brief Sketch of La Crosse, Wisc'n*, published in 1854 by Rev. Spencer Carr. The work, a twenty-eight page pamphlet, may be regarded as a combined city history, diary, census, and promoting tract.

The Minnesota Historical Society has recently acquired a large collection of manuscripts consisting of papers of Maj. William D. Hale, a well-known Civil War veteran, and a prominent figure in the commercial, political, religious, and educational life of Minneapolis and Minnesota. The material includes records of a number of business firms with which Major Hale was connected, and letters received from about 1868 to 1894. Of these last a considerable proportion were written by W. D. Washburn, representative and senator in Washington 1880-1885, 1890-1894.

The *Minnesota History Bulletin* for May includes a brief paper by Professor Carl Becker on the Monroe Doctrine and the War, and one by F. F. Holbrook on Some Possibilities of Historical Field Work.

The Enlistment of Iowa Troops during the Civil War, by John E. Briggs, is an interesting and timely article in the July number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*. Ruth A. Gallaher contributes to the same number an article on the Military-Indian Frontier, 1830-1845. The *Journal* also reprints from the *Hawk-Eye and Iowa Patriot* (Burlington) of January 30, 1840, an account of the council held with the Sac and Fox Indians January 23 and 24 of that year.

Mr. E. H. Stiles, formerly a member of the Iowa house of representatives, a state senator, and the reporter of its supreme court, in *Recollections and Sketches of Notable Lawyers and Public Men of Early Iowa*, writes of men whom he has known in his public life.

During the past year the State Historical Society of Missouri has obtained a complete file of the *Missouri Republican* and the *St. Louis Republican* (daily) from 1874 to 1890, bound in 63 volumes, and making the society's file of these papers nearly complete from 1859 to date. In the April-July issue (double number) of the society's journal, the *Missouri Historical Review*, Walter B. Stevens, writing concerning Missouri's centennial, discusses several phases of Missouri history; F. F. Stephens continues his papers on Missouri and the Santa Fé Trade; and David W. Eaton contributes the fourth of his articles on How Missouri Counties, Towns, and Streams were named. The October number will contain the first installment of a series of articles by Dr. William G. Bek, of the University of North Dakota, on the famous and influential work by Gottfried Duden, "A Report of a Journey to the Western

States of North America"—*Bericht über eine Reise nach den westlichen Staaten Nordamerikas* (1829), now for the first time translated into English.

The July number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* contains the second installment of A. K. Christian's study of the Tariff History of the Republic of Texas, a paper by James E. Winston on Mississippi and the Independence of Texas, and one by E. W. Winkler on the "Twin Sisters" Cannon, 1836-1865. The "Twin Sisters" cannon were two field pieces presented to the Texan government by the citizens of Cincinnati in 1836 and used at the battle of San Jacinto.

The President of the United States has by proclamation created the Verendrye National Monument, near Sanith, North Dakota, a reservation of 253 acres, embracing Crowhigh Butte, on the left bank of the Missouri River at Old Crossing, and marking the first recorded visit of white men to North Dakota.

A Popular History of Utah, by O. F. Whitney, has been published in Salt Lake City by the *Deseret News*.

The Bureau of American Ethnology and the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, have jointly initiated during the past summer the work of excavating the important ruined pueblo of Hawikuh, in New Mexico, one of the Seven Cities of Cibola, visited by Fray Marcos de Niza and captured by Coronado. Mr. Earl H. Morris, on behalf of the American Museum of Natural History, has been proceeding with the excavation of the pueblo ruins at Aztec in northwestern New Mexico.

The July number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* contains an article by Judge F. W. Howay of British Columbia, on the Spanish Settlement at Nootka: an address by General Hazard Stevens, on the Pioneers and Patriotism; and a paper by Professor Edmond S. Meany, on Governor Richard D. Gholson. Mr. T. C. Elliott gives, from David Thompson's manuscript journal, an installment of the records of his journeys in the Spokane country. More than half the number is occupied with a manuscript entitled *A Few Items of the West*, casual in arrangement but full of interest, found among the "literary remains" of Angus McDonald (1816-1889), one of the last chief traders of the Hudson's Bay Company to conduct a post within the territorial limits of the United States.

The principal content of the March number of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* is four chapters of a biography of Hall J. Kelley, Prophet of Oregon, by Fred Wilbur Powell. Kelley (1790-1874) became actively interested in the settlement of Oregon as early as 1824. In 1829 he organized the American Society for Encouraging the Settlement of the Oregon Territory, and as its general manager proceeded to carry on energetic propaganda in behalf of the settlement of Oregon under his plans.

The California Historical Survey Commission, appointed in 1915, has brought out a *Preliminary Report* (pp. 71). It contains preliminary descriptions of the operations and plans of the commission, a general treatise on the records of county clerks in California, and sample reports on the archives of Humboldt County and on those of the recorder of the city and county of San Francisco. All the work seems to be based upon sound methods, intelligently carried out.

Mr. H. Kephart has edited and the Outing Publishing Company publishes J. D. Borthwick's *The Gold Hunters: a First-hand Picture of Life in California Mining Camps in the Early Fifties* (pp. 361).

CANADA

The New Era in Canada is the title of a volume of essays by various writers dealing with the upbuilding of the Canadian Commonwealth. The authors represented are: Stephen Leacock, Sir Edmund Walker, Professor F. D. Adams, Sir John Willison, John W. Dafoe, Miss Marjory MacMurchy, Dr. Herbert Symonds, Sir Clifford Sifton, Archbishop McNeil, G. Frank Beer, Professor George M. Wrong, and Peter MacArthur.

The Yale University Press has published *The Constitution of Canada in its History and Practical Working*, by Justice W. R. Riddell of Ontario.

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The student of the work of Spanish friars in America will find much aid to his labors in the *Ensayo de una Biblioteca Ibero-Americana de la Orden de San Agustín*, of which Father Gregorio de Santiago Vela has brought out three volumes (Madrid, Asilo de Huérfanos del S. C. de Jesús, 1913, 1915, 1917, pp. xxx, 742, 722, 728), extending through the letter "J".

E. Martinenche has furnished the preface for the first part of *L'Amérique Latine et la Guerre Européenne* (Paris, Hachette, 1916, pp. viii, 204), which contains contributions by representatives of ten Latin-American nations, which voice sympathy with the cause of the Entente Allies.

Special attention, beyond what arises from a mere mention under "Noteworthy articles in periodicals", should be called to the elaborate articles of Professor G. Desdèvises du Dezert on "Vice-Rois et Capitaines Généraux des Indes Espagnoles à la Fin du XVIII^e Siècle", of which the first installment appears in the *Revue Historique* of July-August.

The most recent period of Mexican history is illustrated by a recent book of one of the chief actors, Gen. Alvaro Obregon, *Ocho Mil Kilometros en Campaña*.

The Sociedad Española de Librería (Madrid, Ferraz 25), sales agents for the *Biblioteca Ayacucho*, have also been publishing a

Biblioteca de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales, in which several volumes are of an historical nature: *La Diplomacia de Chile durante la Emancipación y la Sociedad Internacional Americana*, by Dr. Alejandro Alvarez; *Etnología é Historia de Tierra-Firme (Venezuela y Colombia)*, by Dr. Julio C. Salas of the University of Mérida; *El Mito de Monroe*, by Dr. Carlos Pereyra, formerly professor in the University of Mexico; *La Federación en Colombia*, by Señor José de la Vega of Cartagena; *La Evolución Histórica de la América Latina*, by Senhor Manoel de Oliveira Lima of the Brazilian Academy; *Ensayos de Historia Política y Diplomática*, by Señor Angel César Rivas of the Venezuelan Academy of History; *El Hombre y la Historia (Ensayo de Sociología Venezolana)*, by Señor José Gil Fortoul, of the same institution; *Rosas y el Doctor Francia*, by Señor José M. Ramos Mejía, president of the Argentine Council of Education; and *El Ideal Político del Libertador Simón Bolívar*, by Señor J. D. Monsalve, of the Academy of History of Colombia.

An exhaustive work on the early history of Buenos Aires is *Mendoza y Garay: las Dos Fundaciones de Buenos Aires, 1536-1580* (Buenos Aires, Coni, 1916, pp. xxxi, 546), by Señor Paul Groussac of the Biblioteca Nacional.

The seventh volume of the *Documentos para la Historia Argentina* is devoted to *Comercio de Indias, Consulado, Comercio de Negros y Extranjeros, 1791-1809* (Buenos Aires, Comp. Sud-Americana de Bille-tes de Banco, 1916, pp. xcvi, 429), edited by D. L. Molinari.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Yves Guyot, *La Formation Politique des États-Unis* (Journal des Économistes, May); D. R. Fox, *The Negro Vote in Old New York* (Political Science Quarterly, June); M. W. E. Wright, translator, *Memoirs of the Marshal Count de Rochambeau relative to the War of Independence of the United States* (North American Review, May, June, July); H. N. Gay, *Tradizioni della Politica Estera Americana* (Nuova Antologia, May 16); W. L. Fleming, *The Early Life of Jefferson Davis* (Bulletin of the Louisiana State University, June); G. W. Stark, *A Century of Steam on the Great Lakes* (Outlook, July 11); M. H. Hunter, *Early Regulation of Public Service Corporations* (American Economic Review, September); Hamilton Gardner, *Co-operation among the Mormons* (Quarterly Journal of Economics, May); E. Porritt, *Canada's National Policy* (Political Science Quarterly, June); M. O. Hammond, *The Fight for Confederation* (Canadian Magazine, July); N. M. McTavish, *The Jubilee of Confederation* (*ibid.*); A. H. U. Colquhoun, *Our Eight Prime Ministers* (*ibid.*); Baron Erland Nordenskiöld, *The Guarani Invasion of the Inca Empire in the Sixteenth Century: an Historical Indian Migration* (Geographical Review, August); C. de Velasco, *La Unica Interpretación Racional de la Emmienda Platt* (Cuba Contemporánea, August); T. M. Cestero, *Los Estados Unidos y la República Dominicana*, I. (La Reforma Social, Havana, December).